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The Washington Monthly

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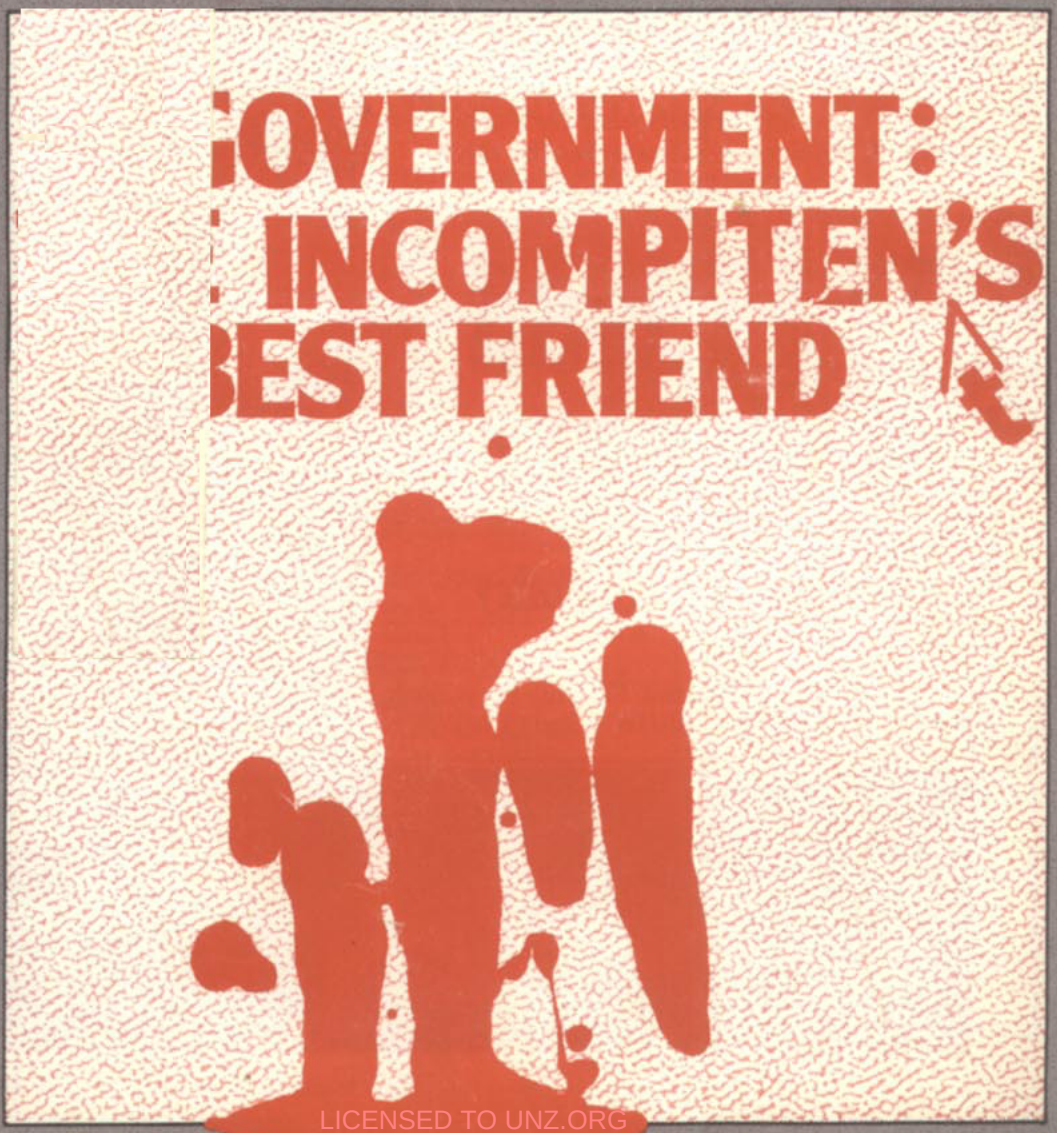

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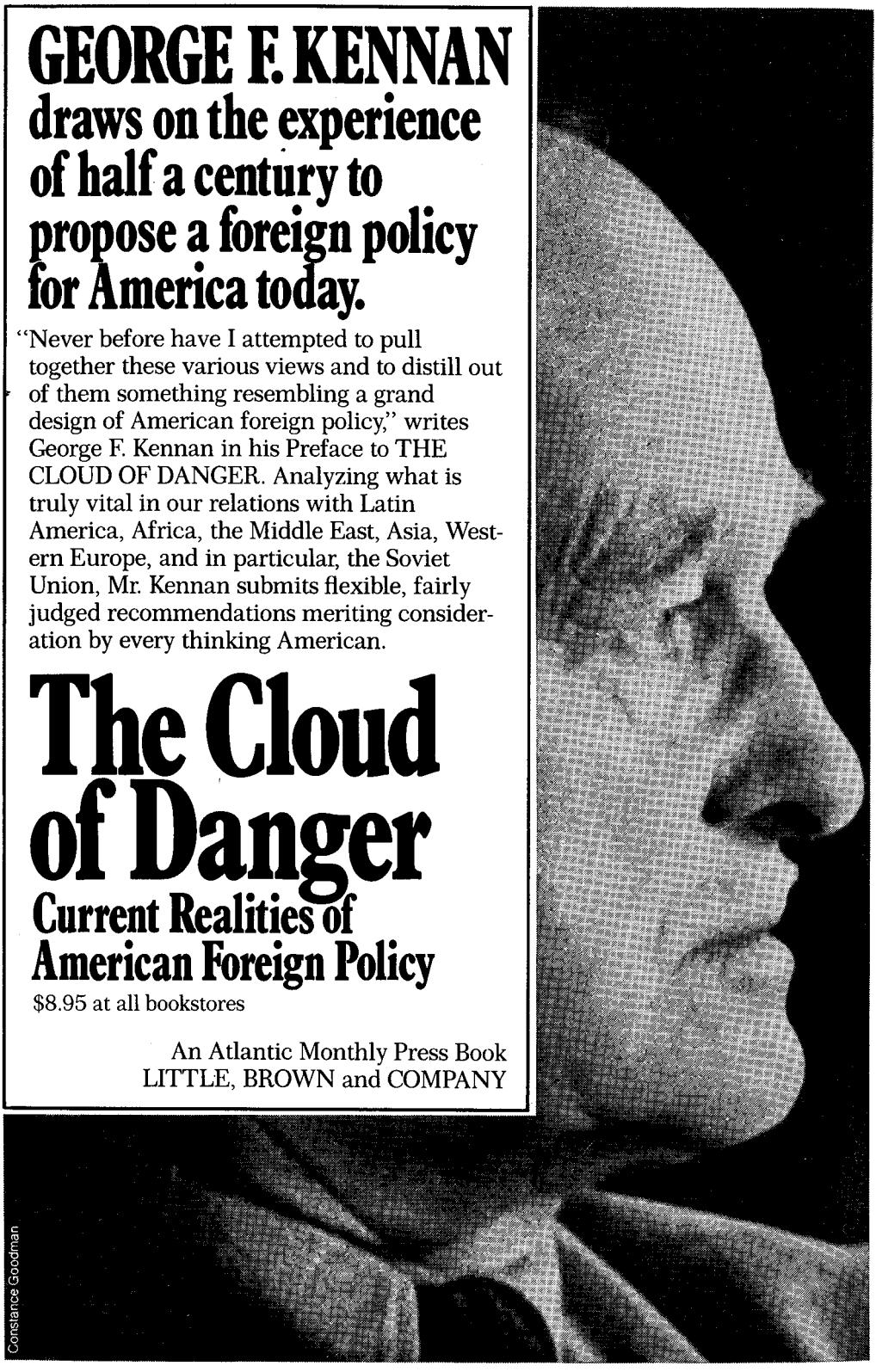

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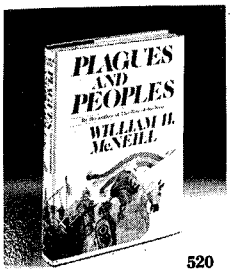

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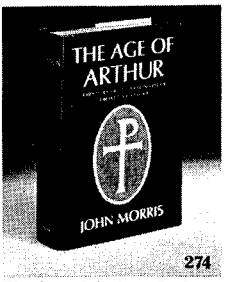

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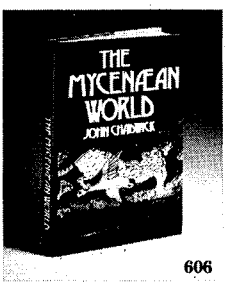

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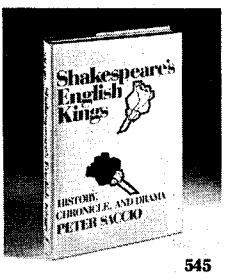

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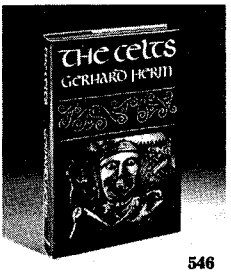

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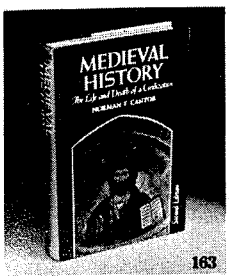

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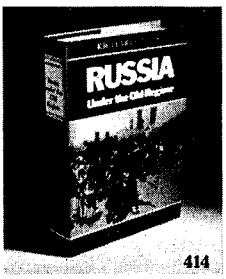

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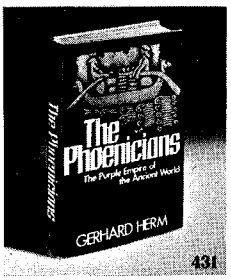

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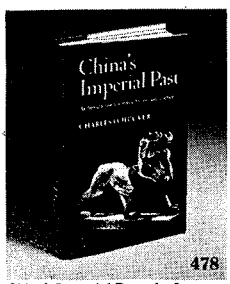

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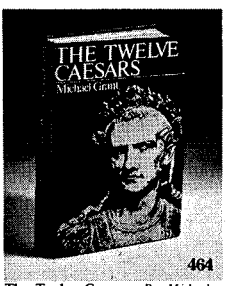

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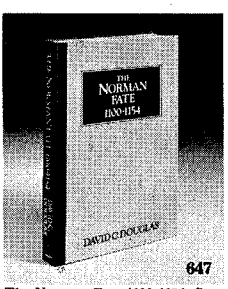

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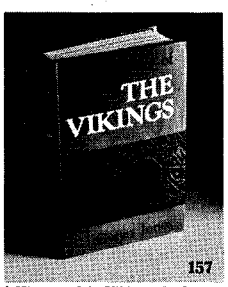

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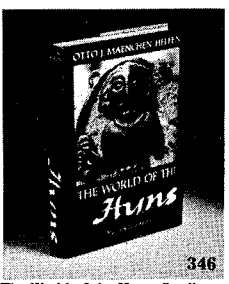

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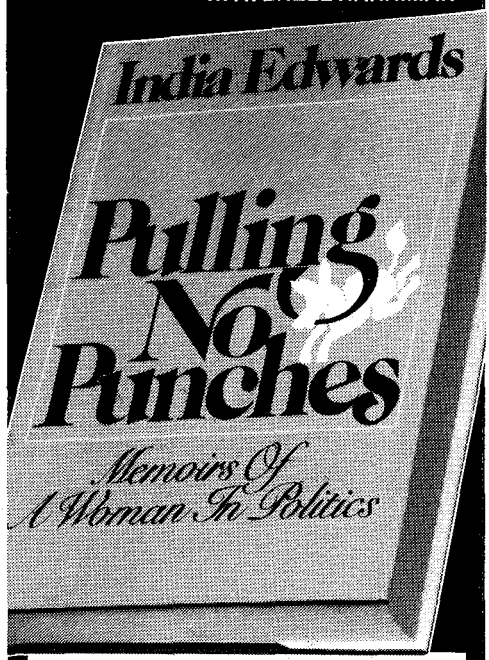

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VOLUME NINE NUMBERS FIVE AND SIX
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Letters

In your June 1977 issue you award the White House press corps your "annual hypocrisy award." You state, as a reason, that "Air Force planes are regularly used to give discount vacations to the families of White House reporters."

That statement is false in its entirety, as you doubtless have been informed by now.

You also state that Trudi Osborne reported that in your own magazine, February issue ["The White House Press: Let AP Cover the Assassinations"]. I understand that also is incorrect. I am certain that Trudi knows better.

If you still do not understand the White House press corps' travel arrangements—which are paid for by the press corps—I will be glad to enlighten you.

PAUL HEALY
Washington, D.C.

Paul Healy is a reporter for the New York Daily News *and president of the White House Correspondents' Association.*

I regretfully find it necessary to correct your "Tilting at Windmills" statement that my article "Let the AP Cover the Assassinations," in your February issue, reported that "Air Force planes are regularly used to give discount vacations to the families of White House reporters." It did not. The planes used are commercial aircraft "chartered" on a CAB-specified equal fare basis, which is not observed. The particulars of that illegality are cited in my piece. I recommend it to you.

TRUDI OSBORNE
Washington, D.C.

Charles Peters replies:

We have to give ourselves the Annual Inaccuracy Award. We were in error about the Air Force planes and we regret the mistake.

But we were right about the discount vacations. The correct facts were stated by Trudi Osborne in our February issue. The White House arranges discount vacations for the families of the White House press corps. The White House doesn't pay for the vacations—the reporters' employers do the paying—but the White House makes the vacations possible and determines the amount of the discount.

Two of the bargains that have been offered the reporters' families: $75 round trip to Key Biscayne. $150 round trip to San Clemente. The lowest rates available to other Washington travelers are twice that amount.

Here's how the discounts are financed: The White House decides that the reporter's employer will be charged $693 to fly the reporter to Palm Springs and back. The regular fare is $564 first class, $354 economy. The White House then says to the reporter's wife and children, you have to pay only $150 each. Obviously the White House is doing a favor for the reporter each time any of his dependents takes advantage of the discount. What we were trying to point out, in giving the White House Correspondents' Association our Annual Hypocrisy Award, is that it is just such favors as these, when received by someone else, that are the subject of indignant exposes by the press.

The particular kind of nonsense the discount vacations encourage, Trudi Osborne pointed out, is non-stories like *The Washington Post*'s front-page report from Vail that Ford was considering amnesty for Vietnam veterans. Anyone who knew Ford knew the story was a phony, but the *Post*'s reporter was there with three members of his family on the discount fares and he had to write something to justify the trip. There were, by the way, 44 reporters on the last trip to Vail. They were accompanied by *70* dependents. Round trip coach fare is $272. The dependents paid $150. Thus the White House arranged a gift to the press corps of over $8,540. A top presidential assistant, Sherman Adams, was destroyed by the press for taking far less.

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"The risks of building the B-1 are greater than the risks of not building it."

"No one disagrees with the need for a strong national defense. But military experts do disagree whether the B-1 bomber is the best way to make us stronger.

Nevertheless, the Pentagon argues that we cannot afford the military risks of not building it.

But building the B-1 carries even greater risks. Consider what the $87 million cost of just one plane will do:

– Continue to help 7,500 working families with day care assistance, ($20 million per year) which was nearly eliminated this year when New York State faced a budget squeeze.

– Plus, pay the annual salary of every uniformed Boston police officer, ($33 million), at a time when the city might have to reduce foot patrols unless new funds are found.

– Plus, extend for nearly 2 full years the life of Philadelphia's only public hospital, ($18 million per year), which the city plans to close, claiming lack of funds.

We're urging Congress not to buy what the Pentagon is selling. The price and risks of building the B-1 are too great."

"The business of government is people."

– **Jerry Wurf**, President

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Tilting at Windmills

One of the most important judicial decisions in American history: the US District Court ruling that Nixon, Haldeman, and Mitchell were personally liable to Morton Halperin for tapping his phone. If public officials know they will have to pay their own money to compensate the victims of their misdeeds, there is almost no chance that we will ever again see the kind of civil-liberties atrocities the FBI and the CIA have been guilty of in recent years.

Two problems of downtown Washington—and, we are told, of other American cities—are excessive bank robberies and excessive numbers of banks and savings and loans. The crime problem is well known; the numbers problem has come about because no one else can afford to pay the rent for the ground floors of the expensive new buildings going up all over the place. Why not enact a law requiring all banks and savings and loans to be on the top floor? This would free the bottom floors for interesting shops and restaurants. It would also present robbers with an interesting problem, for after they had scooped out the cash drawers and dashed out the bank door they would find themselves in a hallway where they would have to wait for an elevator or run down 12 flights of stairs.

Two recent items about chemical and biological warfare (CBW) deserve attention. One is a report by Jack Anderson and Les Whitten that the government has no program to defend the civilian population against CBW. The other is a report by UPI that the Defense Department has gotten back into the chemical warfare business, which was shut down by a presidential directive in 1969. Having advocated the 1969 ban, we hope President Carter will make sure that we are not developing an offensive capability in lethal chemical and biological weapons. At the same time, we hope research is going forward on defense against such weapons, to protect both troops and public alike. We also hope that we are developing non-lethal, temporarily disabling chemical and biological agents, which could be more humane ways of waging war than bullets and atomic bombs.

Did you see the article by Tad Szulc in *New York* called "How Carter Fouled the Israeli Election"? It was an attack not on Carter, but on Cy Vance. We suspect it was based on leaks from Zbigniew Brzezinski. If we're right, this might herald the beginning of the expected war between the Secretary of State and the National Security advisor. Root for both. From what we hear of their early performance, a mutual knockout would be in the public interest.

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THE ROLE OF MEDIATING STRUCTURES IN PUBLIC POLICY

By Peter L. Berger and Richard John Neuhaus

The authors propose a lively alternative to the conservative fears and liberal disillusionments that now cripple our thinking about public policies designed to meet human needs. Berger and Neuhaus focus on the "mediating structures" of family, neighborhood, church, voluntary associations, and ethnic and racial subcultures — the institutions closest to the control and aspirations of most Americans.

They suggest that public policy should not only protect and foster mediating structures, but also utilize them to advance legitimate social goals in the areas of education and child care, criminal justice, housing and zoning, welfare and social services, and health care.

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The District of Columbia government, led by Mayor Walter Washington, has in recent years scaled new heights of ineptitude in a field, municipal government, where the heights are already Himalayan. We have wondered why the local press and business leaders have not expressed greater concern. A possible answer may be that during the last four years, a period in which the property tax of local homeowners increased by 66 per cent, the tax liability of the District's 20 most valuable commercial properties declined by two per cent. The assessed valuation of *The Washington Star* stayed the same, that of *The Washington Post* actually declined by $6,940. All this happened during the greatest inflation of real estate values in the city's history. We're confident the *Star* and the *Post* have assigned their best investigative reporters to the story and that both papers are planning a series of editorials to arouse public indignation.

In one recent District of Columbia scandal, we found ourselves siding with the authorities for a change. The D. C. Teacher's College graduated two seniors who had failed math. Since they weren't supposed to teach math, we couldn't understand why they had been compelled to take it, much less pass it. The general assumption seems to be that math—beyond its necessary instruction in how to add, subtract, and divide, which we agree everyone needs—is necessary because it teaches one to think. But why can't we learn to think by studying a subject in which we are genuinely interested, be it math or literary criticism or history or politics?

Without rigorous instruction, without insistent and intelligent questioning by the teacher, no student is going to learn to think in math or any other subject. With them, he can learn to think in any subject he cares about.

Vast numbers of students now in law school explain their presence by saying they need to learn how to think. Have you ever paused to consider what this means about the American educational system from kindergarten through college?

A new book that will be out this fall, *One L* by Scott Turow, describes the author's first year at Harvard Law School, and makes it clear that almost none of his fellow students had been exposed to the Socratic method of teaching before they encountered it in law school. While the Socratic method is not the single answer to all the problems of pedagogy, it does make students think, and it should be used in high schools and colleges.

One thing we were reminded of while reading Turow's book is that a lot of people are ready and able to begin law practice after the first year of law school and a lot more are ready by the end of the second year. Yet in most states they have to wait until they have finished a third year of study. This is a guild requirement, designed to support law schools and avoid overcrowding in the profession.

There are now 165,000 cases filed each year in federal courts alone. If there are that many in federal court, there must be over a million in state and local courts. Many—probably most—of them could be handled more sensibly and humanely by mediation and arbitration, the way almost all disputes are handled in China. Of all our leading jurists, the one who is trying to do something about our litigation madness is Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, the man most liberals have dismissed as a pompous, petty, and vain Nixonite. Besides being all of those things, he is also sublimely right in trying to persuade people that the courts aren't the only

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way of resolving differences. It's too bad, however, that Burger, by his opposition to class action suits (in which one case can substitute for thousands) has seemed to want to deny the courts to the poor, the consumer, and the environmentalist.

Accountants are trying to get out of the hot water they're in—because of the Metcalf report and other revelations of their inadequate audits of companies upon whose favor their prosperity depends—by proposing a system of peer review in which one accounting firm's work is periodically audited by another. Peer review is the same technique lawyers and doctors use to avoid any real policing of themselves. What we need is review by non-peers. Let's have doctors rule on cases of legal ethics, lawyers check up on the doctors, and both can review the accountants. Of course, the review groups must have some members from the profession reviewed to provide expertise when it is needed, but their tendencies to self-protection will be restrained by the presence of others who do not share their self-interest. The mutual regard of doctors and lawyers, in particular, is now such that the public could rest assured that they would subject one another to the most rigorous scrutiny.

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David Mott of *The Financial Times* of London writes that England is considering a cutback in its foreign service, "radically pruning British representation outside North America and Western Europe, with the elimination of many posts altogether." We should follow the example. The work of most American diplomatic posts abroad consists almost exclusively of dealing with the internal affairs of the official American community—our favorite story concerns a staff meeting at our mission in Cameroon that was devoted entirely to how to divide a recent shipment of Skippy peanut butter—and with sending and receiving cables to and from Washington and receiving official visitors from Washington. This sort of thing keeps from dozens to hundreds of people busy at every embassy. But since it is entirely self-generated, it could be dispensed with entirely with absolutely no harm.

Murray Teigh Bloom, author of *The Trouble with Lawyers,* reports another tribute to the selflessness of the profession: lawyers' fees in personal injury cases have risen from the old standard of one third of the amount recovered to one half in Detroit and Philadelphia. The client's one half is of course computed after the lawyer deducts his expenses.

Clients of the nation's lawyers may be in for a jolt when they receive their next legal bills. Even the greediest lawyers had generally assumed that their professional income would level off in the vicinity of $200,000 until they read about the $550,000 Joe Califano made last year. We fear that what happened to baseball after Catfish Hunter got a $3.5 million contract from the Yankees will now happen in the law, and that every self-respecting lawyer will increase his fees by at least 200 per cent.

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On May 21, Martin Tolchin of *The New York Times* came up with one of the more accurate interpretive stories to come out of the Carter White House. Accurate and disturbing. Carter, he reported, "had given his cabinet officers and agency directors almost total control over filling positions in their department." By permitting these people to make most of the 2,000 appointments open to him, Carter is coming very close to surrendering his chance to control the government. And he is ignoring the example of his mentor, Admiral Rickover, who spent more than two hours interviewing a lowly lieutenant named Jimmy Carter when Carter wanted to become part of Rickover's nuclear submarine program. Rickover had been around the bureaucracy a long time. He knew you can't control it unless you find a way to select the people who staff it.

Carter, instead of following in a smart admiral's footsteps, is taking the path of the kind of dumb admiral who believes totally in the command system. As James S. King, Carter's special assistant for personnel, told Tolchin, "The President felt that they [the cabinet officers and agency heads] are going to be held accountable for their actions and therefore their staffs should be accountable to them."

That kind of accountability only works under a strict system where everyone follows his superior's orders to the letter—and as Admiral Rickover knows, even then it only works in theory, not in practice. In practice the government is so large and the web of loyalties so complex that the only way Carter can be sure of having his programs carried out right is by having a broad base of loyalists who have a direct interest in carrying out those programs well so that Carter will get reelected and they'll keep their jobs. Under the system King outlines, a Brock Adams can bring in a top staff that has been associated with him for years and whose members are accustomed to seeing their fortunes fluctuate with Adams', not Carter's. Adams is maneuvering for a 1980 Senate race, and his staff is unlikely to do anything that will jeopardize that. It's also unlikely to do anything that will jeopardize Adams even if he is doing a bad job, because it's he, not Carter, who is their protector.

But all that is just carping compared to the main problem Carter faces in putting his programs through: the Civil Service. No matter who controls the political appointees, they make up less than one per cent of the federal government; the rest are tenured civil servants who don't much care about Carter's success or failure. What they care about is protecting their jobs against reorganizations that might destroy them. If the political appointees screw up, we can always get rid of them by electing a new President in 1980. If the civil servants screw up, we can't do a thing. It is true that the White House has announced a comprehensive study of the service, but it is to be conducted by civil servants who will not complete their work for two or three years. In the meantime, Carter's programs will be in the hands not of people he has chosen but of a few people selected by his cabinet members and agency heads and hundreds of thousands of civil servants.

Among the many things wrong with the civil service system, three stand out.

1. Incompetents cannot be fired. (See Leonard Reed's article in this issue.)

2. People are hired, not on the basis of merit, but on the basis of friendship with incumbent civil servants. (See "How to Get A Government Job" by Ann Pincus in our June 1976 issue.)

3. Tenure, originally granted to protect the honest and the brave, has attracted the cautious, the kind of people who want security more than anything else.

There are several things we think

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can be done to improve this system. We would put roughly half the jobs in government under a real merit system of selection, and open up the other half to political appointees of the President. The Hatch Act and tenure would apply to the first group and not the second. This would provide a mixture of the caution, expertise, and continuity of the civil servant and the adventure and the action-orientation of the kind of person who is willing to risk all in the throw-of-the-dice of elective politics.

We recently had lunch with three respected friends at Brookings, all of whom threw up their hands at our proposal. Even though they were well aware of the defects of the civil service, they saw politicians as an unsatisfactory alternative. The Tammany Hall image of politicians still has wide credence. Many politicians even look down on other politicians. (I suspect this is true of Jimmy Carter, by the way.) The reasons are complex. One is that many politicians *are* crooked. Also, most of us were first taught about politicians by teachers who were themselves tenured government employees with a self-interest in making the civil servant look like Mr. Clean and the politician like Mr. Dirty. Finally, one of the great triumphs of the late 19th-century establishment was glorifying the neutral expert, the objective journalist, the lawyer, and the technocratic civil servant, who would find their satisfaction in performing functions with skill but who would never question the policies of their employers or feel it was respectable to seek a policy voice themselves by running for office.

Those who think political appointees are always jerks should take a look at judges of the United States District Courts, the United States Attorneys, and the congressional staffs—all political appointees. A reasonably high percentage of them are outstanding—certainly a higher percentage than of any comparable slice of the civil service.

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A serious obstacle to tax reform is turning out to be Laurence N. Woodworth, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for tax policy and one of the great heroes of Washington lobbyists during his years on the Hill as an aide to Russell Long.... One problem with getting real welfare reform enacted is that Al Ullman is against any form of guaranteed annual income.... Joe Califano is so afraid of leaks that he had his health financing proposal typed at the Pentagon.... Business leaders are thinking twice about their campaign against the double taxation of corporate earnings now that the ADA has come out for the same thing.... One clear benefit of ending the tax on corporate earnings and taxing them only as they are received as dividends by the shareholders is that it would end all the corporate expense-account rackets that are based on the fact that the fancy restaurant, the corporate jet, and the luxury hotel can be deducted from taxes and paid for by the general public.... W. Bowman Cutter, associate director for Budget at the OMB, and his assistants, Eliot Cutler and Randy Jayne, impressed the White House during the June budget sessions.... A Congressional leader suggests that if Carter's tax on gas guzzlers is enacted, Detroit will respond by raising the price of its small cars and lowering that of the guzzlers.... Under present civil service retirement rules, an employee may retire on disability if he is unable to do the work of his present job, even though he could do any other job in his department. He may then get another job on the outside and retain both his salary for that job and his disability pension if the earnings for the outside job are less than 80 per cent of his former government salary.... The latest villain in our series on the Firemen First Principle (which says that in a budget crunch, useful public employees are fired before useless administrators) is Pat Boggs, the Alcoholic Beverage Commissioner of West Virginia. When he took office he laid off 280 employees of the state's liquor stores, saying he had to do so because of a budget shortage. The legislature then gave him a supplemental appropriation. He used it not to rehire any of the workers, but to give store managers a raise.... We want to congratulate the New York City Police Department for managing to avoid the worst consequence of the Firemen First Principle. Since the New York City budget crisis began early in 1975, the precinct patrol force has shrunk by 3,305 officers but the number of radio cars patrolling the streets has remained the same.... Why don't we abolish HUD? Few of its programs accomplish anything and the money could be better spent on direct income supplements for the poor.... The CCC (the Civilian Conservation Corps), one of the great programs of the New Deal, is coming back, only this time it's to be called the National Young Adult Conservation Corps. Why not call it the CCC? Those letters were a great symbol of putting human need, real work, and the public interest together in projects that shored up eroded hillsides, planted trees, built roads and cabins in public parks, dredged streams, collected litter, and performed numerous other truly useful tasks.... The President has referred to his energy program as the moral equivalent of war. In its stirring appeal for zero sacrifice, it is in fact the moral equivalent of the Vietnam war.... The power of the defense lobby has never been better illustrated than on May 24 of this year when the House Armed Services Committee voted to kill financing for the design of a small aircraft carrier—not because the small carrier is unnecessary, which it probably is, but because the committee wanted to build another giant nuclear carrier, which is certainly unnecessary.... There are still, after Jimmy Carter's first half-year in office, 147 government officials who are chauffeured to and from work each day.

—*Charles Peters*

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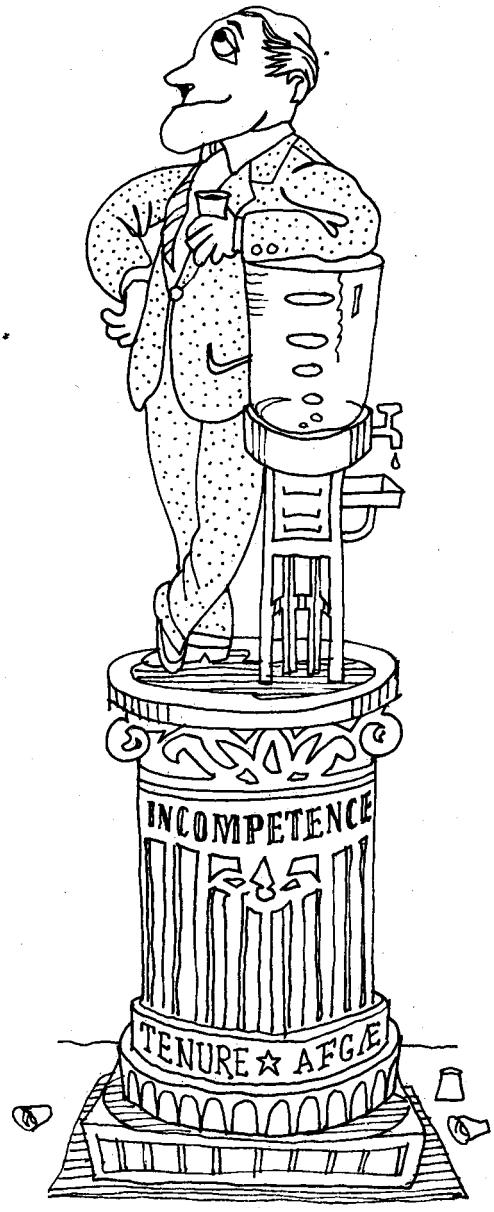
performance. The only firings it meant to stop were mass *political* ones aimed at providing more jobs for loyalists.

Limitations on firing civil servants were first established in the Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912, and the Civil Service Commission has since then prescribed a maze of regulations regarding those limitations. The Commission has sole responsibility for amending firing procedures, and, in the words of a Commission attorney, "the amendments have almost invariably resulted in greater employee protection."

The movement away from the flexibility that any organization needs if it is to operate efficiently took on added impetus when the courts weighed in. Until the late 1950s the courts rejected attempts by dismissed civil servants to get judicial redress. Then a significant change took place: the Supreme Court held that under the Lloyd-LaFollette Act a federal employee's job was, in effect, property, and that he therefore could not be deprived of it without "due process of law." This interpretation has given the federal worker a special privilege granted to few other people in our society.



Wm. Sharon Farr, Jr.

Wonderland

In one part of the Civil Service Commission's literature appears the sentence: "The Commission also established a Division of Efficiency to set up a system of uniform efficiency ratings for the departmental service, for use as a basis of promotions, demotions, and dismissals."

So much for Wonderland. In real life, efficiency ratings perform no such function, and as instruments in the firing process they are worse than worthless. Customarily the ratings of an incompetent worker consist of platitudes designed to make it easier for his supervisor to live with a situation he can't cure. Any criticism is veiled—instead of saying that Bledsoe has an infinite capacity for bollixing

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up schedules, one says, "As Mr. Bledsoe acquires managerial skills, his value to the agency will increase accordingly."

"Top management tells us to get tough in our efficiency ratings," one executive remarked. "But if you put in a critical sentence and the employee threatens a grievance action, they 'suggest' that you delete or tone down the offending sentence."

So year after year the unproductive employee accumulates ratings that make him out to be a Renaissance Man. When, indeed, matters reach the point of crying out for an employee's dismissal, the supervisor who contemplates the action is in a vulnerable position: the record shows a succession of satisfactory evaluations by previous supervisors, and he seems to be the only one who couldn't get any decent work out of the man or woman.

A Long, Long Process

For other reasons having to do with the instinct for self-preservation, the federal manager is strongly motivated not to fire the incompetent. He knows, for one thing, that it will be a long, long process once he embarks upon it. S. John Byington, chairman of the Consumer Product Safety Commission, once wrote to Senator Charles Percy:

"A manager in the executive branch of the federal government who finds it necessary to terminate an unproductive or non-contributing employee—or even an obstructing employee—must be prepared to spend 25 to 50 per cent of his time for a period that literally may run from six to 18 months."

One such manager related his frustration in trying to get rid of an incompetent who had been the despair of several supervisors before him: "When I came to the conclusion that he'd have to go, I went to the Agency Executive Officer, a man who was well aware of the problems this employee had been causing for years.

" 'Keep a book on him,' he told me. 'Keep a diary of when he comes in, when he leaves, how many times he is out of the office, how many times he goes to the john and for how long. Give him assignments and keep track of how many he flubs. Make sure you don't softpedal his failings when you write his performance ratings.' O.K., I kept a book. I felt like a fink. After several months of this I showed the Exec what I had.

" 'You can do better than that,' he said. 'I want an ironclad case.'

"This kind of thing went on for a while," said the executive, "and then I began to realize something: *I* was becoming the problem. This fellow had a lawyer. He was a member of the union. He had complained to his congressman that he wasn't being given fair consideration for *promotion*! And the agency just didn't want to get into a tangle. It was easier for them to adopt the attitude that I wasn't compiling a convincing case, that I was a lousy manager."

The executive shrugged. "There are lots of people around here who are misfits or incompetents," he said. "You get used to them and you learn to put up with it, like you learn to live with a toothache or a sore toe."

The federal manager who refuses to put up with it soon finds that his own reputation is beginning to suffer. He is creating friction, and at the higher levels of government, harmony is valued well above function. In writing *his* performance rating, *his* boss may well remark upon the unfortunate "personality conflict" with Bledsoe. Where the incompetent employee can "grieve" (personnel shorthand for filing a grievance claim) that he is being discriminated against—and it is an unimaginative clod who can't find *some* ground for so charging—the executive literally finds himself on trial; even if he is exonerated the charge becomes part of his own file.

Further weakening any determination to fire Bledsoe is the inflated condition of government

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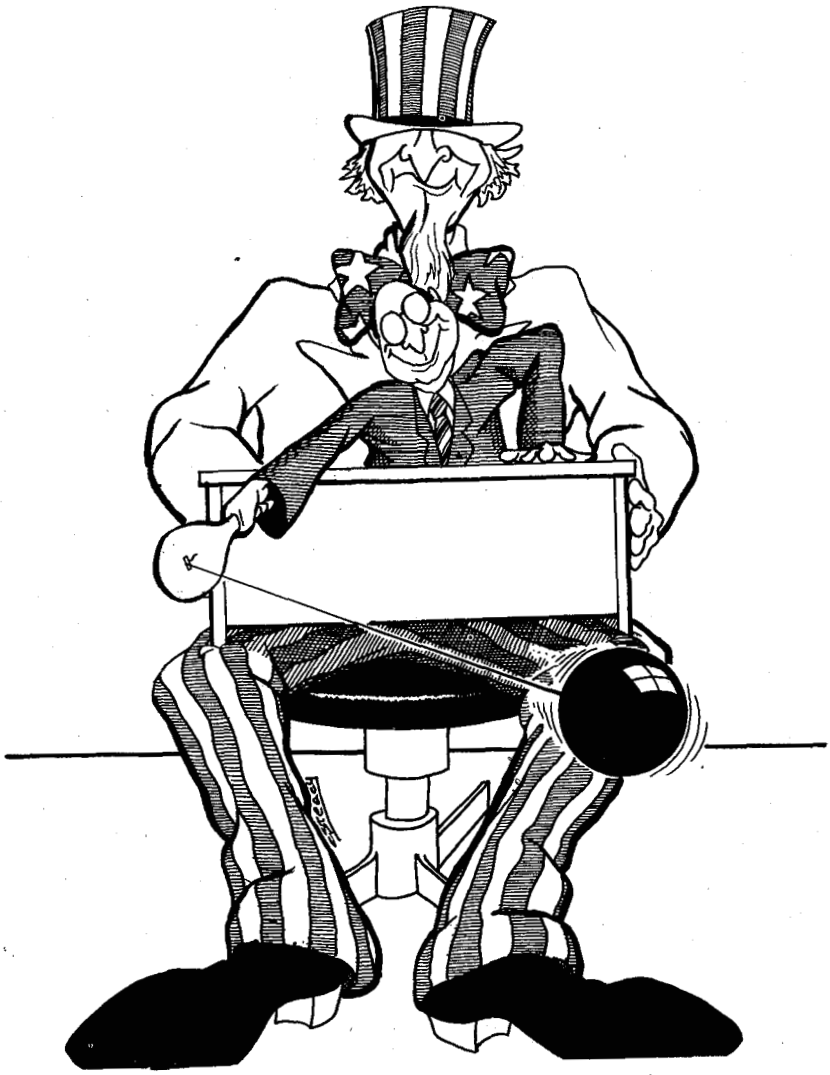

The Myth of the Probationary Year

Defenders of the system of protection that surrounds civil servants point to employees' initial probationary period of one year, during which time they have no tenure. That is the time, the argument goes, to get rid of the incompetent or the goof-off. That's when it is simple.

As the summer of 1977 began, an observer in a federal courtroom in Washington would have received a different impression.

The plaintiff, a contract specialist, whom we can call Parouk, had been fired by his agency in June 1974, near the end of his probationary period. His dismissal notice included three charges of inefficiency, supported by 40 specifications. Parouk appealed the dismissal to the Civil Service Commission, claiming he had been discriminated against because of his "country of origin." Although it found no proof of discrimination, the Commission ruled that the agency had not offered sufficient proof of non-discrimination and ordered Parouk restored to his job. Some time later, still within the probationary period, the agency fired Parouk again. This time the Commission sustained the dismissal.

Then Parouk sued the U.S. government for restoration of his job and back pay. Represented in the

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agencies. Over the years most agencies have attained a degree of featherbedding that means underwork or makework for substantial numbers of employees. But since anyone who suggests that his section or division is overstaffed is considered treasonable, tolerance for non-productive work becomes the ambient culture. In this laissez-faire atmosphere, Bledsoe's supervisor doesn't aspire to be the lone tilter against windmills. It makes more sense to work around Bledsoe than to fire him.

And, if patience is finally exhausted, Bledsoe can probably be transferred to another part of the agency. In a large agency there are many such "floaters"—people who live a nomadic existence, foisted on each successive supervisor when it is recognized that the previous one has suffered enough.

The Dean of the Defenders

"Why do you want to fire anyone?" Donald Dalton asked, parrying my query about whether it has become virtually impossible to fire a federal employee.

Donald Dalton is the dean of a group of Washington lawyers who specialize in defending civil servants whose jobs are threatened. Chairman of the Civil Service Law Committee of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia, Dalton says he has taken "hundreds and hundreds of such cases."

He and the other lawyers who handle these cases are part of the system of job protection for federal employees, and, not surprisingly, Dalton sees the federal government as the oppressor of those employees who take their cases to him. Because under the law as now constituted his client always has a case, in Dalton's eyes the employee is always a victim of injustice—whether or not he is competent at his job.

"Government isn't like business," Dalton said. "People who work for the government have certain property rights in their job. There are laws you have to follow before you can fire somebody. The government wrote those laws, I didn't. The fellow who works for government has a right to see that they follow their own laws, and he comes to me for help to see that they do."

Dalton is undoubtedly right. If in the conflict between a federal employee's right to absolute job security and the public's need for a manageable bureaucracy, the Civil Service

court by two lawyers provided at no cost to him by a federal employees' union, Parouk charged that the Civil Service Commission had not fully recognized "the nature of the interest involved," that is, the legally guaranteed right of a federal employee to continued employment. He also charged that the second firing constituted a reprisal against him for having charged discrimination in the first firing. In the course of the presentation to the judge, it was mentioned that a U.S. senator had intervened with the Civil Service Commission on Parouk's behalf.

After an hour or so, the judge, trying to delineate the legal issues involved in the mass of charges and counter-charges, asked the lawyers for both sides to come back in two months with additional arguments on a specific point of law.

Almost three years had gone by since the original action and the end was not yet in sight.

As the various participants filed out of the courtroom, I spotted one of the two agency lawyers heading toward the elevators. He was pushing a supermarket-type shopping cart filled to the top with documents.

"Are all those about this one case?" I asked him.

The lawyer nodded. "Yes, that's the administrative record."

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Commission, the Congress, and the courts continue to favor the former, the substandard federal employee can hardly be blamed for hanging in there.

How Sturdy a Bulwark

Except for an office on the fifth floor occupied by its architect, a modern, seven-story building on Washington's Massachusetts Avenue is occupied exclusively by the national officers of the American Federation of Government Employees, who, from here, preside over the union's 1,500 locals.

As unions go, the AFGE, lacking for all practical purpose the ultimate weapon of the strike, is something of a marshmallow. Its bargaining power for higher wages is limited to lobbying Congress. This limitation hampers the union's ability to attract members from the federal work force. That it has succeeded so well (it has about 300,000 members) results from its having become another bulwark of the government worker's job security. Should a worker fail to receive a promotion he alone feels he is entitled to, the union takes up the cudgel for him. And if a worker's job is threatened, the union becomes a tiger, providing legal counsel. In 50 per cent of the cases of dismissals that are appealed to the Civil Service Commission's Federal Employees Appeals Authority, the employee is represented by a labor union.

The AFGE is fortunate in having an unusually capable general counsel, in the person of Leo Pellerzi, a man who knows the working and non-working of government from inside and out. His inside experience came as general counsel for the U.S. Civil Service Commission from 1965 to 1968 and as the Department of Justice's Assistant Attorney General for Administration—the highest civil

The Strange Case of Norval Perkins

Because of the quagmire a federal executive sinks into when he attempts to fire an incompetent, impatient souls sometimes try short-cuts—but these attempts to cut through the prescribed procedures invariably end in disaster. Of the "adverse actions" that employees successfully appeal, the Federal Employees Appeals Authority reverses two thirds on the basis of procedural errors.

On March 8, 1976, for example, *The Washington Star* said that the executive director of the District of Columbia's Board of Elections and Ethics had reportedly (the report proved premature) been removed from his job "in a general restructuring of function . . . . In the last few elections, the Board has come under criticism for its handling of various contests . . . ."

The executive director was a man named Norval Perkins, and the story was, for a Washington newspaper, an uncommon deviation into understatement. Norval Perkins presided over a series of election capers compared with which a Laurel and Hardy shin-kicking episode is an exercise in human dignity. The kind of election legerdemain that big-city machine bosses strenuously contrive happened effortlessly and mindlessly in Washington. In the 1974 primaries it took the Board's staff 12 days to count the votes. On another occasion, filled ballot boxes were temporarily lost (it turned out that they had fallen off a truck). Computers were so thoroughly mismanaged that ballots had to be counted by hand, and at one point a well-known computer manufacturer contemplated suit against the city for what was happening to its reputation.

Because of these and other irregularities, the Board, at the end of July, voted to fire Perkins. But, as a District of Columbia employee,

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service level in government—during the next four years.

Like the Civil Service Commission itself, and like private lawyers who make their living by fighting dismissals of federal employees, Pellerzi sees as relatively inconsequential the unfireability of the incompetent civil servant. Like the Commission, whose philosophy he absorbed during his service there, Pellerzi takes the view that a dismissal action usually stems from the incompetence of the supervisor rather than the employee.

"Generally," he says, "you will find that a dismissal action is a failure of discipline, a result of falling out between the supervisor and the employee rather than any change in the employee's performance. And you can't just fire someone arbitrarily, I don't care what business you're in—as long as it's unionized."

Does the union concern itself at all with the question of incompetence when defending an employee against a dismissal action? That is a question that makes Pellerzi somewhat uncomfortable.

"The union," he says, "owes the duty of representation to *all* of its members."

Burdening the System

The notion that dismissal actions are taken capriciously doesn't stand up under examination. The evidence all points in the opposite direction: that federal managers will put up with incompetence, laziness, and outrageous behavior far longer than the public has a right to expect. The Civil Service is weighed down with unproductive employees against whom no action is ever taken because of the frustrations involved in bucking the system of protection.

A federal executive, a woman, describes what is involved in trying to

Perkins was covered by the Civil Service Commission's provisions for federal employees. So, since another election was coming up in November, the Board changed its mind about undertaking the interminable process of firing Perkins "for cause" and decided on a shortcut: it reorganized the Board's staff and abolished the job of executive director.

Perkins took his case to the Federal Employees Appeals Authority, which ruled that he had been improperly organized out of a job. The Authority noted that the Board had chosen this route to avoid *proving* Perkins' incompetence. After a few back-and-forths between the Board and the Civil Service Commission, *The Washington Post* noted on March 22, "Perkins will report for duty Thursday and start getting his former pay (about $35,000 a year). But the Board maintains that his former position no longer exists, so what he'll do remains uncertain."

Since then a compromise has been struck under which Perkins withdrew the suit he had instituted against the city claiming $125,000 in damages and was in return appointed executive director of the newly formed D.C. Citizens' Gambling Study Commission.

Whether Perkins mismanaged his job, as the Board claims, or whether he was more victim than perpetrator in the sequence of election buffooneries is beside the point. The fact is that the Board *considered* him incompetent. It recognized the virtual impossibility of removing him on that basis and resorted to the reorganization gambit, a thrust the Appeals Authority parried. The eventual compromise resolves the problem for the Election Board but puts in charge of another presumably important city function a manager the Board could not fire.

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dismiss a typist who has become impossible to work with:

"She had been unsatisfactory for close to a year .... She was extremely moody and temperamental. Her attendance was terribly spotty. She did not take criticism of any sort. You never knew when she was going to blow. And during a long period when I took no notes—it was not yet even in my mind to start an adverse action—she would come into my office and ream me up one side and down the other. She would make the most outlandish accusations about my relations with other people in the division. It would happen, usually, when I called her in to discuss her attendance. She was hot-tempered, she had a foul mouth, and you could hear her all the way down the corridor when she laced off.

"The straw that broke the camel's back was her rather sudden refusal to carry out one clerical function which was a necessary part of her duties. She flatly refused. She just stopped doing it. When I realized that other people on the staff were having to do this girl's job I knew I had to take a hand. I went in and told her that I expected her to perform that function and complete it by four o'clock that afternoon. She was typing and she didn't reply. She went on typing and I asked her if she'd heard me. Without looking up, she said, 'I heard you.' And I said, 'Are you going to do it?' She said, 'We'll see.'

"She went home that day without having done it. I believe that was when I realized that drastic measures would have to be taken. I consulted with a great number of people in the administrative area of our agency. I got all the books and received verbal advice on how you initiate an adverse action. And I carried everything out to the letter. I spent a good part of the next two months documenting the girl's performance on the job. I wrote an extensive evaluation of her work, which I gave to her, and followed this with a memo to her requesting improvement in the deficient areas. She wrote a memo to me asking for 'specifics.' I asked her supervisor to reply by memo, giving more specifics. You would be astonished at the number of memos which flowed back and forth between me and various elements of the agency on this one case. Finally I was in a position to write the girl a formal letter telling her that I was initiating action to have her dismissed. I had the letter looked at by the people who know about this kind of thing and, on their instruction, gave it to her in the presence of a witness.

"The girl asked for a formal agency hearing on the charges, which is her right, and she got the union to represent her. The agency appointed a lawyer to represent me. More months went by and lots more paperwork. A hearing examiner was assigned. He wrote telling us the requirements for the hearings—you have to set the room up exactly the way they want it. The tables have to be set up in certain ways, you have to rent a tape recorder and hire two operators to take down the proceedings—that alone, and the subsequent transcriptions, ended up costing the agency something like $2,000.

It's Just as Bad in the Schools

The government is far from the only place where firing is impossible. Another example is in the public schools, as this report by Gloria Borger in *The Washington Star* shows:

"In Pennsylvania, a recent study of teacher hiring and firing trends between 1940 and 1970 revealed that only 65 tenured teachers had been dismissed during those 30 years. With more than 100,000 teachers in 505 school systems throughout the state, the report concludes, slightly more than two tenured teachers are dismissed per year.

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"When the hearings finally did take place, six months had elapsed since I had decided to take action. The hearings lasted three days. By the rules of the game, the girl was there the whole time. I was only permitted in while actually giving my own testimony; I couldn't even be there when witnesses on my own side were testifying.

"Anyway, another month or so elapsed while the recordings of the proceedings were transcribed and relevant portions sent to all concerned parties for their comments or corrections. Then, after the transcripts were returned to the examiner and he was pondering his recommendation, the girl found another job and quit. Otherwise, it might still be going on.

"The system is actually geared, in my mind, to the incompetent. You really have to do something heinous for your supervisor to take any action because it's so damn much trouble. And it *is* a lot of trouble. I was warned it was a lot of trouble. And I found it occupying, and I'm not kidding, five eighths of my day toward the end. And 110 per cent of my mind. The system and the rule book are geared to making you think 50 times before you start. The system assumes a supervisor has nothing else to do; the paperwork is unbelievable. My assistant, call her the office manager for this particular episode, and my secretary, the two of them were spending 50 per cent of their time—that's one person, 100 per cent—typing up reports with umpteen copies. A copy of everything, incidentally, had to go to the girl's representative. We couldn't hold a meeting to discuss the case and what we were going to do without either her or her representative being present. That's all in the rules and regulations."

Missionary Zeal

There are a few agencies that perform finite, measurable tasks and that are small enough to offer strong motivation for firing incompetents. In a small agency the word gets around about the person who's deadweight, and it isn't so easy to palm him off. And budgetary limitations militate against hiring an additional person to do his work. Under these circumstances—which sometimes exist when an agency is young, still imbued with missionary zeal, and led by people not yet anesthetized by apathy—dismissal actions become somewhat more plausible. In the Edward Lafferty case, all of the above factors were present and the case was energetically and successfully prosecuted. Nevertheless, the task was a formidable one.

Lafferty, an economist who had been in the federal service since 1968, came to the agency in 1973. His job centered about plotting statistical charts in a very limited sphere, and it soon became apparent to his supervisor that Lafferty didn't measure up to even this relatively simple chore.

In light of Lafferty's having served in the government since 1968, the personnel people at the agency thought the problem might be less a question of competence than of a personality conflict with the supervisor. Adjustments were made in

"In the District, which has about 6,800 teachers, there have been about 21 tenured teachers dismissed formally after hearings because of unsatisfactory ratings over the past eight years. There were 56 cases in all, leaving an average of about two to three teachers dismissed after hearings each year.

"In Montgomery County [Maryland], one tenured teacher has been dismissed for incompetence over the past four years. In Fairfax County [Virginia], four cases charging incompetence have reached the board in the last several years."

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Lafferty's work arrangements and a series of specific assignments were given him. The results confirmed the supervisor's judgment that Lafferty had neither the economics background for the job nor any willingness to acquire it.

In March 1976 Lafferty's supervisor handed him a letter of intent to terminate his employment in 30 days. Signed by a top agency official, the letter cited incompetence, insubordination, and generally abusive conduct as the causes of dismissal. The charges were documented with specific instances, testified to by memoranda from a variety of people who had dealt with Lafferty, and by an account that his supervisor had kept over a period of several months detailing the results of assignments given to Lafferty. The letter plus the exhibits ran to 60 pages.

The accounts of the assignments were technical, but the descriptions of Lafferty's behavior are understandable to the layman. On one occasion, the letter said, his supervisor came to Lafferty's office to check on the status of the project Lafferty had been assigned. Lafferty became enraged, charged the supervisor with "harassment," and, threatening physical violence, ordered him out of the office. On another occasion, when the supervisor asked for additional data on work Lafferty had turned in, Lafferty told him, "You can take it the way it is or stuff it . . . ." On meeting the director of personnel in the cafeteria on one occasion, Lafferty said, "So you're the son of a bitch who's got it in for me. Maybe you'd like to step outside and settle it." The personnel director stared embarrassedly at his mashed potatoes as Lafferty let forth with a two-word description of him as the south end of a northbound horse. That any one of these incidents could be tolerated without causing Lafferty's dismissal is itself a measure of how job security affects discipline in the federal service.

Lafferty had 15 days to reply to the charges and two days of official time off. On April 25 the agency's highest administrative officer wrote Lafferty that his reply had been considered and the decision made to terminate his employment on May 12. The letter told him he had 15 days to appeal the decision to the Federal Employees Appeals Authority.

Lafferty did appeal the case and hired a private lawyer to represent him. The agency then had to provide the Civil Service Commission with his entire file, now 103 pages long. The file, which contained a memorandum

Tenure: Riding the Eurailpass

What is the effect of the tenure system on the civil servants themselves? Suzannah Lessard addressed this question in a *Washington Monthly* article called "The Case Against Tenure," (September, 1971):

"The crunch of the tenure system is that people in it find it very hard to leave. Tenure is like a Eurailpass. Having bought the pass, you are perfectly free to stop riding the train, but if you come upon a town that promises an unprecedented good time if you would only stop over, chances are you will be simply incapable of staying there, or if you do stay, you will dance on thorns, knowing your pass is expiring unused. Likewise, a tenured person is theoretically no more prevented from seeking new work than his untenured neighbor, but the plain truth seems to be that somehow job guarantees intimidate people into staying when they would otherwise go. This makes about as much sense as refusing to trade in a toaster that clanks and smokes for a better model because noxious and irritating as it is, it is guaranteed to go on working.

"In order to work well, particu-

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on every meeting at which the case had been discussed, was also available to Lafferty to help him prepare his defense. The appeal hearings, which took place in September 1976, lasted two days and resulted in two volumes of transcripts. The following month, the Appeals Authority issued a decision affirming the agency's dismissal action.

But more than two years had elapsed since Lafferty's incompetence had first been recognized. During most of that time he continued to receive his $20,000 salary. For about a year, various highly paid administrators at the agency had been spending a significant amount of their time on the case. And Lafferty still has recourse to the courts. How realistic is it to expect the people involved to continue to tackle such prosecutions? And this agency will one day become old, fat, tired, and cynical.

Nothing of Value

"Why do you want to fire anyone?" Lawyer Dalton asks.

There are two reasons.

The first is a coal miner in West Virginia who rarely sees the sun. He spends his days in a black hole, sometimes working in a tunnel too low to stand up in and breathing in dust that blackens his lungs and shortens his life. The money he earns from all this is taxed to pay for the upkeep of the federal establishment, and it is simply not fair to this man to make him contribute part of his wages to pay the salary of another man who is doing nothing of value.

The other reason is the need to make government perform better, a goal to which President Carter (like many of his predecessors) has pledged himself. For many fine and capable civil servants, the acceptance of the incompetent and the slacker affects their own attitudes and performance. For federal executives, the invulnerability of the unproductive worker makes a mockery of the whole concept of efficient management. While a general thinning out of the least productive people in government would be desirable, what is needed is not necessarily the mass exercise of fire power but rather the realistic capability. A great many of the marginally competent people would radically improve their performances if the safety of their jobs was not so absolute. The overprotection of the civil servant is not only destructive of an efficient government service; it encourages too many federal employees to make the least of themselves and ends by destroying them, too. ■

larly at something that demands imagination, intellectual energy, and dedication—in other words, something other than plain labor—people have to feel free to leave: they stay only because they choose to stay, not because they are afraid to leave. It's rather like a troubled marriage in which the wife can't decide whether she really wants to leave or stay, but because she is so terrified of being alone, stays, never discovering that in the absence of terror she would have decided for positive reasons to stay. Such a marriage would limp along, slowly wearing down the partners. But if she felt ready to leave if necessary, and felt able, then having decided to stay, she could face the problems with confidence and work fearlessly to make something constructive out of the relationship. Paradoxically, by being willing to dump the marriage, she would make it worth saving. The same applies to a job. If, unafraid of being fired, you work courageously, with conscience and commitment, then the job is far more rewarding—worth staying in—than if cowed by the fear of dismissal, you yielded to all pressures in the effort to keep it."

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Tidbits and Outrages

The Quest for Truth: I

According to Lance Gay of *The Washington Star*, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare recently wanted to find out how much it pays private industry for consultants. So the agency let a $378,147 contract with Rockwell International Corp. (a private contractor) to find out. The General Accounting Office later found that the government let that contract overrun to $2.2 million and that after the study was completed HEW duplicated its work with computers.

The Quest for Truth: II

The value of government research is constantly being demonstrated. For example, three chemists at the National Bureau of Standards recently completed an 18-month study to find what would remove graffiti from public buildings. The study found that liquid paint removers will do the job best. That astounding conclusion was followed by the word that the next best removers are well-known household and industrial cleaners.

Glass Houses Department

The State Department faces some embarrassment in carrying out President Carter's human rights program. According to James M. Perry of *The National Observer*, of the 1,024 top jobs in the Foreign Service, only 21 are held by people from minority groups.

He Who Work for Revolution Have to Put Up With a Lot

From time to time word filters out from behind the Bamboo Curtain that confirms our suspicion that the enemy of us all is not capitalism or communism but bureaucracy. A recent Reuter report from Peking says that one Liu Kuei-Yang, a Chinese civil servant, complained in a letter to *People's Daily* that during his last three months on the job he had spent 32 days in meetings.

Deadline USA

Rep. David Obey recently pointed out that the reporter who criticizes congressmen for their perquisites should take a look at his own. Here's what the taxpayers provide for the press on Capitol Hill:

Twenty-four employees of the House and Senate press galleries plus special doorkeepers and messengers; 181 reserved parking spaces in choice locations; about 180 free telephones; desks, chairs, typewriters, and other equipment; semi-private elevators; special press tables in the House and Senate dining rooms; free stationery with congressional letterhead; access (at equivalent prices) to the same office supplies, meals, barbers, subways, and check cashing facilities available to members of Congress.

The Washington Star, to its credit, reported Obey's charges and asked editorially:

"Do members of the press who cover Capitol Hill need 24 gallery employees to wait upon them?

"Shouldn't members of the press pay reasonable fees for parking spaces at the Capitol?

"Why should any news organization have free telephone service? If they can't install their own phones, as many do, why can't they use pay telephones?

"Why should a news organization expect the government to provide free typewriters or stationery?

"As for semi-private elevators, the public elevators go to the same places just as fast and it is doubtful that anyone would be inconvenienced if the press signs were taken off.

"There's no reason why Congress should provide much beyond a space for the press to work."

Bureaucrats 1, Public 0

The subway stop for National Airport in Washington is located a half mile from the Main Terminal and a quarter mile from the North Terminal, separated from each by six lanes of heavy traffic. The FAA, which controls the airport, had wanted the stop underground and close in; Metro, the Washington area transit agency, said its budget couldn't pay for an underground station. Uncertain airport renovation plans further confused the issue. Finally, everyone compromised by inflicting the maximum inconvenience on the general public.

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Household Size	1	2	3	4	5
Gross Monthly Income	$345	$460	$566	$724	$881

RESOURCES: A household can have up to $1,500 in resources—cash, savings, stocks—and still be eligible. The resource limit if at least one person is over 60 is $2,000 [Your home, a car, and household goods are not counted as resources.]

You may be eligible; contact your local community corporation

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That Personal Touch

We recently reported that the never-tell-a-lie gang over at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue had bent the truth a bit when they said the White House staff was increased to take care of the mail the President has asked the public to send him. In fact, we said, the administration was answering more and more correspondence with form letters.

John Cramer of *The Washington Star* obtained one example, a copy of a Carter answer to a Massachusetts citizen who wrote the President to protest revision of the so-called sick-pay exclusion—hardly a matter of burning national concern.

The answer took the form of a pre-printed, pre-signed postcard, complete with White House seal, which read: "Your comments touch upon one of the most complex issues of our time. I remain firm in my determination to deal honestly and openly with the American people, and while we might not always agree, I am most grateful for your own deep concern over the challenges before us."

Jimmy Carter"

Why We Need a Comprehensive New National Birthday Policy

Another triumph by the White House mail room was reported last month in *The Baltimore Sun*. It seems that Mrs. P. Tyson Bennett of Annapolis wrote the White House asking for a congratulatory letter from the President for her grandmother, on the occasion of the latter's 90th birthday. A letter duly arrived, but to Mrs. Bennett instead of her grandmother; and it was signed by Valerio Giannini, of the White House staff, rather than the President. The letter explained that in the interest of economy the President was no longer sending congratulatory letters to people under 100. As we understand the essence of this transaction, Mrs. Bennett was sent a form letter that displeased her while her grandmother was not sent a form letter that would have pleased her.

Our Spacious Government

Over the past ten years, Washington has experienced an explosive building boom. Government-owned and government-leased office space has increased 46.8 per cent. Surprisingly, however, the number of federal employees in the area has grown by only slightly more than half that amount—25.1 per cent. Why all the extra office space?

The government tells us it's to house computers. We suspect another factor is involved. It's the phenomenon called "grade creep," described by Marjorie Boyd in our April issue. The longer people stay in government, the higher pay and rank they achieve, even though they may continue to do the same work. As their rank increases so does their entitlement to federal real estate. A GS - 1 through GS - 6 gets 60 square feet of office space while a GS - 16 through GS - 18 gets 300.

Modelling Criminals

There used to be a cultural lag rule that said whatever was happening in England today would happen in the United States in ten years. Let's hope the rule is no longer right, for we have before us a report in *Spectator* by Auberon Waugh that the cost per adolescent at the St. Charles Youth Treatment Center in Essex is now £20,000 a year while the cost of Eton is £1,800 per year. While the benefits of Eton may be debatable, the proven record is that St. Charles turns disturbed youngsters into hardened criminals. And it takes a lot of highly paid civil servants to do that.

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How Carter Stopped Playing Politics and Started Having Trouble With Congress

by F.T. Merrill, Jr.

Judging by the huge majority he has on Capitol Hill, Jimmy Carter's White House ought to be having more success in pushing its programs through Congress than Richard Nixon's, Gerald Ford's, or even John Kennedy's—but, mysteriously, it's not. Carter's difficulties with Congress are certainly well-publicized—every week there's a new example of a favorite program gone awry on the Hill—but they're usually chalked up to his outsider status, or his staff's inexperience in national politics.

These explanations have by now worn thin. There's a very specific reason for many of the problems, and it has to do with the seemingly unimportant detail of the way Carter's House liaison office, the key link in the administration-Congress relationship, is organized. To put it simply, the office is structured so that it is impossible for Carter to play politics with the members of the House the way Nixon did.

Nixon knew that because the Congress was overwhelmingly Democratic, his relationship with it had to be coercive; that is, he had to get the Congress to support programs that by natural inclination it would have voted down. The relationship worked out beautifully for Nixon in the early years. On the continuation of the war, levels of military spending and weapons systems funding, cutbacks in domestic social programs, and defeat of environmental legislation, the Democratic Congress went Nixon's way.

Occasionally—but very occasionally—hints of the secret of Nixon's success would leak out. In 1971 *The New York Times* ran a story saying congressmen were being threatened with the removal of their districts' HUD grants if they didn't deliver to the administration on a key Vietnam vote. Four years later, an article in *Congressional Quarterly* quoted two junior Maine Republicans complaining about similar strong-arm tactics by a White House lobbyist. Usually, how-

F. T. Merrill, Jr. served as assistant for House liaison to Carter congressional liaison chief Frank Moore from September 1976 to May 1977 and helped plan the reorganization of the House liaison office described in this article.

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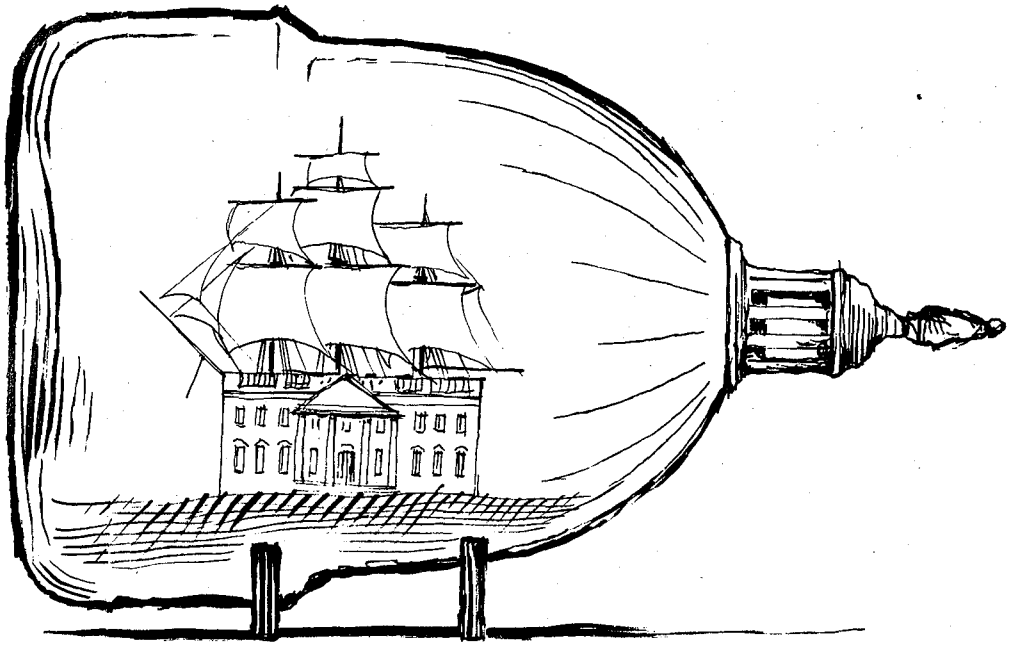

Dave Suter

ever, the White House's House liaison office remained a well-kept and powerful secret—perhaps because its staff members were available and reliable off-the-record sources to Hill reporters.

The office's normal modus operandi was the skillful manipulation of federal program grants and contracts, which were bartered to congressmen in return for their support for Nixon administration programs. Because this can be a tricky business, the administration's lobbying was centralized in the White House; congressional liaison officers in the agencies and departments were generally considered politically unreliable. Grants and contracts are a congressman's lifeblood in his home district, while local electorates are relatively indifferent to broader questions of national policy. By trading policy stands for grants, congressmen were gaining a great deal and losing very little in terms of their chances of reelection. Those who were most cooperative with the administration, like most of the Republicans and the Southern Democrats, found their districts attracting disproportionately large flows of federal money.

Nixon's effort to glue together a winning coalition in the House was aided greatly, if unintentionally, by a key liberal Democratic reform—the recorded teller vote, which was adopted in early 1971. While previously members voted on amendments by parading anonymously through teller lines, under the new system the vote of every congressman could be recorded on every amendment that came up on the floor. Before the recorded teller vote, it was impossible to trade effectively on a one-on-one basis; instead, the administration had to rely on the House leadership to deliver the votes on key amendments. Under Kennedy and Johnson, key negotiations on legislation were conducted by the President and top executive-branch officials directly with the leadership and committee chairmen, with the rank and file marching unrecorded through teller lines to support the agreed-upon position.

Nixon, of course, couldn't do this because the Democratic majority of the House was generally hostile to him and its leaders trapped between the White House and an increasingly restless Democratic caucus. He had to go to congressmen singly for persuasion in order to build his coalition in the House; the recorded teller reform made this easier.

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Making it work meant having a sophisticated vote-trading operation conducted through the House liaison office—an operation that depended on each congressman having a one-on-one (and thus private) relationship with a particular White House lobbyist. In order to guarantee the one-on-one relationship, the aides divided their "clients" on a geographic basis—one handled Southerners, one Northerners, and one Westerners. For actual business purposes, only about 250 members got heavy attention—150 loyal conservative allies and about another 100 willing to talk business over the pork-barrel. Very few issue-oriented liberals ever had any dealings with the White House lobbyists; their votes were just not necessary to bring in a majority. In the office's heyday, each liaison officer oversaw all federal funds and programs—indeed, all federal matters—pertaining to each of his client's districts. It was an effective system, and it lent itself to coercion of the House into support for programs and policies that did not have the support of the American people—the most flagrant example being the war in Indochina. The deterioration of the Nixon presidency and the huge 1974 Democratic majorities, however, trimmed the conservative/pork-barrel coalition to about a third of the House, or barely enough to sustain a veto. While Ford retained the House liaison office as a one-on-one operation, he was never able to mold a majority coalition and had to settle for government by veto.

When Carter took office, he wanted to eliminate the cynical horse-trading of the Nixon era and return some of the lobbying power to the departments. He also saw close cooperation with the new and strengthened Democratic leadership as critical to harmony between the executive and legislative branches, and recognized that a coercive vote-lobbying operation conducted out of the White House and directed at the rank and file could jeopardize an effective working relationship with the leaders.

In pursuit of these goals, Carter split up responsibility within the office along issues, rather than geographic, lines; each of the three liaison aides deals with four Cabinet departments (including the proposed Department of Energy) and with any of the 435 House members who happen to fall within his "issue cluster" at a particular time. In addition, instead of the White House having the power to confer all the government's blessings, that power is far more decentralized. For the first time in eight years, liaison officers in the Cabinet departments really do run their own shows.

These changes have made a close one-on-one relationship between White House liaison officers and House members virtually impossible, and the close coordination of legislative patterns difficult except through presidential consultation with top congressional leaders. A White House liaison officer is no longer in a position to discuss a sewage treatment plant in the context of a foreign aid vote because the liaison aide who handles foreign policy does not also handle environmental issues—and besides, decisions on such matters no longer lie exclusively in the hands of the White House.

Carter's road to wide House support for his programs is mainly through the House leadership; if the leadership falters, Carter is left with sharply reduced power to use carrots and sticks to influence the legislation he needs to accomplish his goals. The days of buying off congressmen with federal projects and penalizing voters by slowing or canceling those projects for distant reasons of policy are over. The lack of a White House vote-trading operation makes it more difficult for Carter to push his legislative program through Congress, but it is consistent with his open approach to government. His recourse in moving a balky Congress is to take issues directly to the people, which has yet to be proven as an effective way to influence legislation. ■

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The Story of a Bad Girl

by Susan Keeny

On a residential street in Arlington, Virginia, sits an unpretentious Cape Cod house, cut from the same cookie mold as the others on the block. The head of the household isn't one of the powerful, but like most people around Washington he caters to the powerful. He tends to their thirsts and feeds their egos as bartender at one of the city's more expensive restaurants.

Lou Tortelli came to America from Italy as a child. About all that remains of his Italian background is an ability to speak the language. On his day off Lou acts like a typical American. He sits in his reclining rocker, drinks beer, and falls asleep in front of the TV. Cordial but bluff, Lou leaves the job of raising his five children to his wife (his second; the children's mother died some years back). When she asks for fatherly discipline, he mostly yells or gives a cuff on the neck or bruising smacks on the arm.

For many years he directed his yelling at his oldest, Al, the bad boy of the family. Ever since Al was a child, he was in and out of trouble at school and in the neighborhood. He's been on probation for a number of years and even spent some time at a residential treatment center for boys. Now almost 18, Al is on his own, working sporadically, and causing trouble—mostly for himself.

Judy is a year younger than Al and close emotionally to her brother. Her mother is worried that Judy is going to turn out like Al. Judy is a 16-year-old high-school sophomore. She is very overweight, and the fact that a large part of that weight is above her waist does not console her. She has blond hair that's the brassy shade of a bad peroxide job. Her smile is tight and bright, and her manner is that of a sassy teenager. She giggles when her mother tells a visitor how awful she is.

Judy's been playing hooky, and her grades show it—mostly Ds. She's not into drugs, but alcohol and general misbehavior are a big part of her life. One weekend Judy went off to a motel with a girlfriend and two Marines. Fed up with Judy's wild living, Mrs. Tortelli marched Judy

Susan Keeny is a Washington writer.

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down to Arlington's Juvenile Court. She hoped Judy would be put in the detention home for a few days, scaring her into better behavior, but that isn't how things worked out. Instead Judy wound up on probation with a volunteer counselor. That's how I got to know the Tortellis three years ago.

I joined the Volunteers in Probation (VIP) program of Arlington County, Virginia out of an interest in troubled children. The program matches the child with an adult who will be a friend, counselor, and role model; the idea is to turn the offender away from crime by giving him one-to-one attention.

About 20 years ago Judge Keith J. Leenhouts of Royal Oak, Michigan, started the VIP program as a way of giving misdemeanant offenders counseling that the professional probation workers did not have time for. Today, Judge Leenhouts estimates, there are VIP programs in about 2,500 court jurisdictions throughout the nation.

In Arlington the program was operating with the help of funds from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Of the $480 million that LEAA granted in fiscal 1973 to the states and territories, Virginia received nearly $11 million to improve the state's criminal justice system. Eventually about $43,000 filtered down to Arlington for the VIP program, and $360 landed in my pocket.

About half the volunteers were being paid, because the first directors of Arlington's VIP program wanted to find out whether paid volunteers were better motivated than unpaid workers. I was in a group whose members received $45 a month. My gasoline expenses in driving across the county to see Judy could never have been more than 50 cents a week. Our usual meeting place was a nearby Hot Shoppes where Judy had a hot fudge sundae or a similar rich, gooey dessert for about 85 cents. By no stretch of financial wrangling was my involvement in the program costing me $45. So I opened a savings account in which I deposited the program's monthly checks until the day Judy's behavior deserved a reward.

Like many of the juveniles who go before the courts, Judy was a status offender—she was guilty of an act that was a crime only because of her age: truancy, running away, incorrigibility. Judy was more a mixed-up adolescent than a potential criminal. And like half the juveniles on their first visit to the court she did not see a judge, but was diverted away from the justice system. Rather than formally label Judy delinquent, the counselor disposed of the case by directing it to the VIP program. As a volunteer I received a brief description of Judy and her problems—"has poor self-image, needs attention, needs authority figure checking on her"—and was left to take it from there.

The guidelines for VIPs are few. Because children's problems are usually rooted in their family relationships, we were advised to see the child with his parents at the first meeting. If that worked, we were to try it again. At my first meeting, Judy's mother continually interrupted her daughter to tell her own side of the story. After an hour of trying to achieve some sort of harmony out of the discord, my head reeled. It was clear I wasn't going to know Judy's feelings as long as her

Answer to June Puzzle

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mother was around. After that I would pick up Judy and head for the Hot Shoppes.

Despite my weekly three-hour injections of encouragement, reinforcement of her few positive qualities, and attentive listening, Judy's behavior worsened. She failed English at school and had to take a make-up course in summer school. Before the summer was half over she failed the course because of too many late arrivals. She argued with the manager of the nursing home where she served the evening meal and was fired. She looked desultorily for another job. One weekend she stayed out all night, and as an excuse she told her mother she had been raped. She spent most of her time hanging around a bowling alley with friends her mother disapproved of. Her savings and her reputation disappeared as she indiscriminately gave away her money and her body to win friends.

As Judy continued to misbehave her mother coped in her fashion—ignoring Judy unless extremely angered and then laying down rules she later wouldn't enforce. Because Mrs. Tortelli could find no redeeming feature in Judy, she gave her no praise. As Judy continued to receive only abuse, she got more resistant to changing herself, which in turn inflamed her mother further.

By the end of summer, it was obvious to Judy's probation counselor that the situation at home was impossible. She looked into the county's halfway house for girls. It was filled—fortunately, as it turned out, since about two months later the house closed abruptly when the resident counselor's husband was found having sexual relations with one of the girls. Judy said she wanted to live with us but I thought it wouldn't be wise since my husband and I both worked late and no one would be at home waiting for her when school was out.

The only other choice was Prelude House, the county's residential drug treatment center. Judy didn't have a drug problem and her counselor and I worried that the program might have a bad side effect on her. But the house was taking an increasing number of youths with problems other than drugs, so Judy went to Prelude.

For the next 16 months I saw Judy rarely but when I did it was obvious the intensive counseling and peer pressure within the house was helping. She lost weight, her tough-kid posture faded, her bleached hair was growing out. She seemed more at ease with herself and others, and she had friends.

Abruptly Prelude House closed. Like New York City, the county faced a fiscal crunch. What better way to save money than by closing an underutilized youth program? Large enough to house 30, the house had only 12 resident youths in January 1976. By closing the house the county could save $140,000 a year. The other girls in the house went home, but Judy's counselor and I feared all of Prelude's good effects would be undone if Judy followed suit.

For the next eight months Judy lived with us, broadening our lives, testing our tolerance, and opening our eyes to a slice of society we knew little about: teenage misfits, the kids who experiment with drugs, liquor, and sex and do as little at school as possible.

Most of Judy's friends had also been at Prelude House, but Karen, who was as plump as Judy, was a neighborhood friend. Karen never finished high school. She married before her senior year and had a baby 11 months later. Tom, her husband, had spent his childhood in and out of foster homes. Now he worked as an automobile mechanic—though everyone, including himself, said he knew little about cars. In the eight months we knew them Karen and Tom quarreled and split three times, the last time for good; Tom changed jobs three times; and Karen's mother died of emphysema. Karen and her baby now live with her father, who has remarried. She would look for a job but she has had increasing medical

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problems and is collecting welfare payments.

Charley, a crush of Judy's, is as slender as Judy is overweight. At 24 Charley was surprisingly naive, easily taken advantage of by his friends; he often paid the rent share of his roommate, a partially disabled Vietnam veteran. As a teenager Charley had been arrested for stealing to support his drug habit. His father was an alcoholic, and Charley couldn't hold beer himself very well. He worshipped his mother a little too obsessively, calling her "the sweetest woman I've ever known." Charley learned to lay carpet, enjoyed it, and earned good money. He lost that job in a few months, however, and switched to installing radios in buses. Charley played the guitar and liked to think of himself as a country western singer.

Charley's best friend was Winston, who off and on left his wife and in the off periods dated Lisa, who was crazy about him. Lisa had had an abortion before she was 14. She was pencil-thin like Twiggy and wore eye makeup so thick my husband first thought Winston was beating her. Lisa was 15 and had a mother who was 32 and who talked about her sex life with Lisa, explaining why her current husband sometimes left the apartment.

Phillippa, daughter of a strict Greek father, also had had an abortion. Now, at 16, she worked steadily as a waitress, saving all her money to make the payments on a car that cost more than $7,000. Her mother moved out of the family home and in with a boyfriend, begging Phillippa and her sisters to come with her. Instead, Phillippa moved in with the family of her current boyfriend.

Off to the Edges

Sound like a soap opera? I've learned there's a lot of reality to the soaps. The stratum of society we saw, however, rather than being the doctors, lawyers, and businessmen of the soaps, was the waitresses, unskilled garage helpers, swimming pool cleaners, painters' assistants—the men and women who never stay long enough in a job to earn a raise or acquire a skill. These people live somewhere off to the edges of society. For the most part they are not criminals—they don't break the rules of society—but neither do they make them nor conform to them.

After just a week with Judy I was nearly ready to forget having any responsibility for her. Prelude House may have smoothed her rough edges and helped her to mature, but at 18-and-a-half she was still rebellious, stubborn, and lazy, and I was severely strained trying to cope with it all calmly, pleasantly, and without anger. Eventually I stopped trying to change her less-than-responsible habits all at once, and we settled into a routine of living.

In mid-March Judy graduated from high school, which says more about the quality of public education than Judy's academic achievement. She got an A in government, thanks to some intensive tutoring by my husband. ("What are the two arms of the legislature?" "The Senate and.... uh.... the Congress?") Her reading, math, and English language skills were deplorable. She never read a book, magazine, newspaper—anything—unless absolutely forced to. At one supper conversation I commented on a friend who'd had inertia ever since she'd come home from the hospital with a new baby. Judy interrupted, puzzled, "Inertia? That's a strange name for a baby." Her skill at math was less than the average fourth grader's. She couldn't even add bowling scores without counting on her fingers.

Through an employment agency Judy found a job as a clerk-typist. In June she spent all her savings ($100) for a down payment on a car without considering the cost of the insurance, license, county registration, or even gas. Always an impulsive person, Judy quickly realized she'd made another poor decision. I was disturbed by her ready acceptance of herself in that

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light. We wanted her to learn to turn a poor decision into a positive accomplishment, so we encouraged her to keep the car. This was financially possible only if she found a part-time job, but that, on top of her 35-hour work week, would hardly have strained her. I learned, though, that if you pushed Judy up against the wall to do something demanding extra effort, her spine sagged rather than stiffened, and she looked for the easiest way out of her difficulties. In this case, it was "falling in love" with Charley, which made it easy to accept his money and not bother with the part-time work.

Seeing Double

In July I took Judy to an eye doctor. For several months I had observed that when I asked her to turn right, she turned left, and when she tried to sight-read music her fingers went down the scale as the notes went up. When she cooked supper she could fix the meat, salad, and vegetables—but not at the same time. A 15-minute meal took an hour to prepare.

At the post-examination conference I was stunned to find out that Judy saw double at a reading distance. ("But I thought everyone saw that way," she said.) I learned that she had had an operation as a child to correct crossed eyes and the muscles had never strengthened to hold the eyes properly. As a result, one eye saw off to the side. The doctor said she had one of the worst cases of visual dysfunction he'd seen in over 20 years of specializing in the field. But 12 years of respected parochial and public school teachers had never picked up her problem.

The doctor recommended eye training but would accept Judy as a patient only if she wanted the training and would work at the exercises for the next eight to 12 months. Judy didn't want to ("Why? I see 20-20."). I could not get her to understand the

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relationship between seeing well and the ability of the entire body to coordinate.

The visual training became a lost cause when Judy quit her job in mid-August. It was either quit or be fired—in three months' employment she had worked only one full week, casually taking off afternoons, mornings, or entire days. Judy also learned then she had gonorrhea—and not from Charley. But Charley paid the medical bills because Judy didn't have medical insurance.

About this time I realized Judy was pocketing about $5 a week from the money we gave her to buy our groceries. She also had allowed her brother Al to sleep on our sofa when we were away one weekend—an accommodation I had expressly forbidden before we left.

Tired of Judy

By the beginning of September I was feeling totally sympathetic with Mrs. Tortelli. All my efforts to be consistent, to enforce rules pleasantly but firmly, did not seem to be bringing about any change in Judy, and she was becoming a strain. On one occasion I yelled at her, which seemed to impress her but also accomplished nothing and exhausted me.

I knew Judy and Charley were looking for a place to live together because I had taken calls from apartment rental offices. My husband and I were going away for a week's vacation in mid-September and I resolved that if Judy did not have plans to move out when we returned, we would have to draw up new house rules. Preferably Judy would become strictly a boarder, doing her own grocery shopping and not helping with any of the household chores. I was tired of reminding her on Tuesdays to take out the trash; I was tired of dirty pans in the sink; and I was tired of Judy.

When we returned she and Charley had rented an apartment, and at the end of the month Judy moved out. We parted quite amicably, kissing each other goodby, and Judy was back the next day. She had forgotten to take her coats from the closet in the entranceway and her clothes from the chest of drawers. Two weeks later she stopped by to chat, wondering why my husband and I didn't fight and complaining that Charley didn't take out the garbage.

The Values She Didn't Have

In thinking back over our experience in parenting I feel that we did the most that could have been done at that time in Judy's life. We provided her with a cushion between the comforting cocoon of the house and the real world. We gave her support at a time when she needed it to finish school, get her driver's license, and find a job. We could do things for her but we could not inculcate in her values that she didn't already have. The one goal I wanted her to reach—to achieve the self-confidence and ability to support herself—she has not reached.

In mid-March Judy came to see us with a tale of woe—tribulations that would destroy another person but that Judy only shrugged off because she expects so little of herself. Charley had lost his job and was going to Florida. She had been pregnant and at first was going to have the baby, but when Charley made it clear he didn't want the child she had an abortion. She was working nights at a boring job—but it was ending in a week anyway. They owed money to friends for the rent, money to the phone company, money to the abortion clinic. They had sold the car for $30 (and she had purchased it for $420).

I think Judy wanted me to turn the clock back six months and welcome her unreservedly back into our home as before. But a situation can never be totally recreated—either physically or emotionally. Things weren't the same. The ironing board was back in place in "her" room, our books were back on "her" knicknack shelf, visitors for several weekends

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were expected in "her" room.

And emotionally I no longer could tolerate a loafer in our home—there was no excuse for a healthy 19-year-old not to work responsibly at a full-time job. I pointed out to her that if I was less than wildly enthusiastic about welcoming her back, there was another reason. She left owing us money (part of the last month's rent), but she had never made any gesture toward paying us. I had never pressed her for the money but thought she needed to get her priorities straight. Instead of talking to me at this point about another used car she wanted to buy, I told her, she needed to find a job, pay off her debts, and save for a car. Judy grew silent.

Then I suggested, as I had before, that she help me in painting and fixing up the basement to work off her debt to us. She was always welcome, I said, as I had on other occasions, to live in the basement. Understandably, she had never been keen on that invitation. Our basement is strictly utilitarian, and despite Judy's flair for decorating it could never be a cozy private apartment. Nevertheless, I got out a paint chart and solicited her opinion on colors. She agreed, though reluctantly, to come the next day at 9:30 a.m. to start painting, and I went out and bought the paint.

As I half expected, she did not appear. It is now three months since I last saw her or heard from her. From a friend I learned she persuaded Charley not to go to Florida. They are living somewhere in the Washington area rent-free in return for helping a contractor fix up a house for sale.

It is impossible, of course, to predict with any certainty where Judy is heading. Right now she seems to be even farther from the secretarial work she once wanted so very much. Judy has many positive qualities and abilities: she's a pleasant person, she has good organization abilities (she rearranged my kitchen so well that my husband said he'd never seen it look so neat, a statement with which I had to agree). She had attended a wallpapering session with me and remembered the instructions better than I did; without her help I would never have attempted to wallpaper the kitchen, which we did together successfully.

Until she corrects her visual coordination I doubt she will have many successes in the jobs she tackles. As a switchboard operator she found it difficult to be responsible both for answering the phones and for remembering to deliver messages. At bank teller school she could not balance her accounts and was dropped from the school before the final exam. As a clerk-typist she was slow.

Her Prelude counselor thinks her problems stem from her mother's death when she was eight years old and her father's subsequent remarriage. Her mother thinks Judy's problem is her older brother's influence; her probation counselor thinks it is her mother's attitude; I think the problems are rooted in her eyes. Who's right? Probably everyone, to some extent.

Did my efforts have a positive effect on Judy? The obvious answer is that the effect—if there was one at all—was marginal. Do I regret the effort? Definitely not. There is enough evidence that probation works for adolescents like Judy—not violent criminals but status offenders and youngsters caught stealing for the first time—that it's clearly worth trying.

To have continued to live in a place like Prelude House probably would have been better for Judy, but it became unavailable and I was there. I'm glad I tried to help. Few human or social problems yield immediate gratification when we try to do something about them. Some are likely to prove even more intractable than Judy. But we shouldn't just ignore them. It's worth our best effort to try to do something about them. My parenting of Judy certainly produced no immediately visible results; at best, I may have made an imprint on her behavior that won't show up clearly for years. In any case, I'm glad I tried. ■

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Memo of the Month

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

IN REPLY REFER TO: P8615-280

DEC 20 1976

Memorandum

To: Field Directorate

From: Chief Training Officer

Subject: Planning Cycle for Development of the Fiscal Year '78 Servicewide Training Program/Budget

Attached is material showing the subject system recently approved by National Park Service top management. Included is a copy of the Training Planning Cycle for FY '78, including target dates for elements 3-17, and a sentence or two elaborating on each of the elements. Your Regional Training Officers will be able to supply you with more detailed information regarding any of the elements about which you have questions.

Following are a few highlights of the elements, and in particular, those which represent changes sensitive to the desires and requests of you and members of top management.

Step 5. The 10-143 data for each region is inputed at the regional level. Forms need not be sent to WASO as in the past. Computer printout reports will be produced in WASO and mailed to you. Reports will give you detailed information showing which employees have requested which training experiences and will also analyze the data as in the past.

Step 7. Each Region* prepares its FY '78 Regional Training Plan/Request using the same format as that utilized last year. That format, developed with the Regional Training Officers, worked quite well. (Memo forthcoming to your Regional Training Officers giving details on this part of the system.)

*Region includes HFC, DSC, and WASO Division of Personnel Operations.

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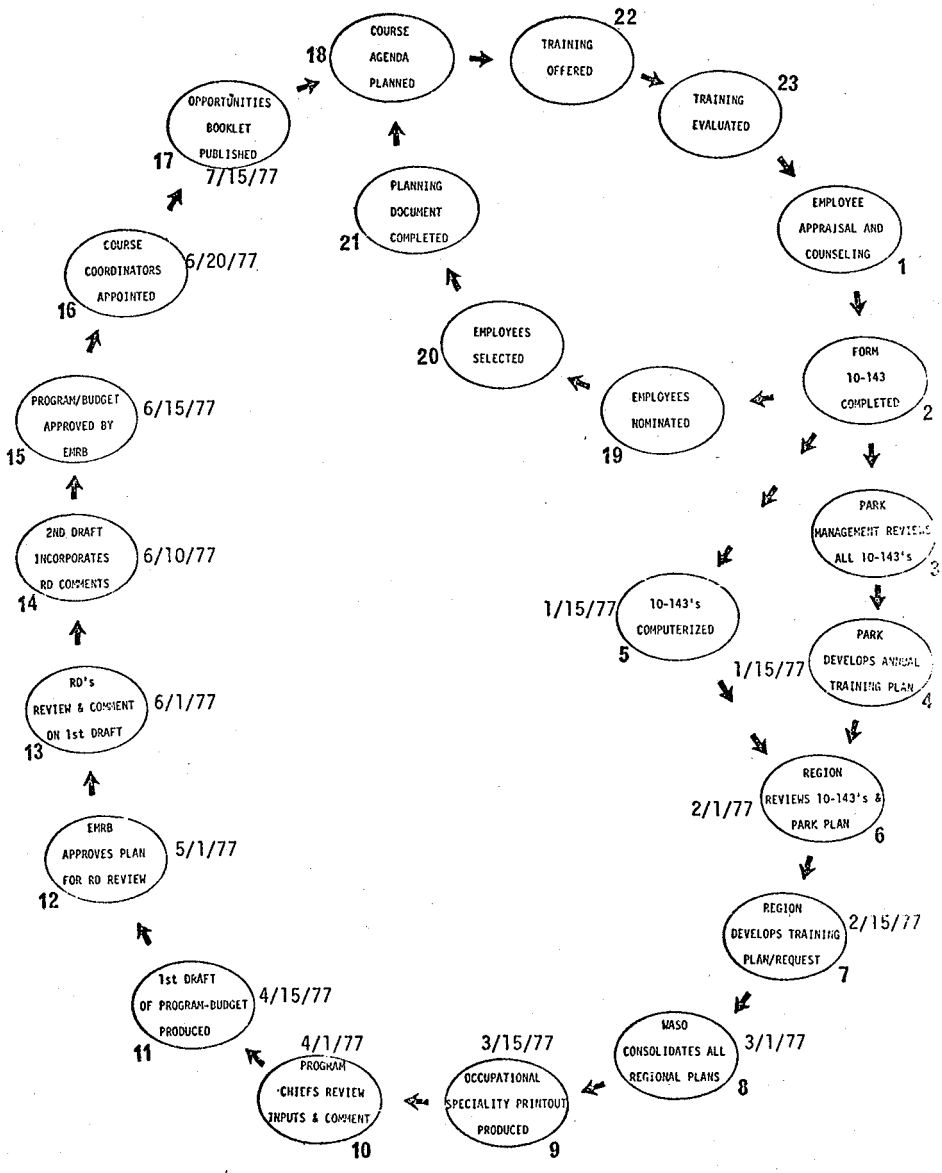

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Wide World Photos

by Stephen Chapman

Oddly for a nation built almost entirely on immigration, the United States historically has had a schizophrenic attitude about letting in foreigners. For our first century-and-a-half of existence, we welcomed almost anyone who wanted to come, and the invitation was accepted by millions of people all over the world. Until 1882, in fact, the U. S. had no formal immigration policy, and for the next 39 years it didn't limit the number of immigrants. Only in 1921 did the government decide to close the open door to some foreigners, mainly those from southern and eastern Europe, who were arriving in sufficient numbers to cause grave alarm among the nation's governing WASPs. One congressional report expressed the worry that the immigration of such people tended "to upset our balance of numbers, to depress our standard of living, and to unduly charge our institutions for the care of the socially inadequate." Evidently the threat to the purity of the Anglo-Saxon race was too obvious to mention.

Nobly trying to avoid these disasters, Congress established immigration quotas based on the ethnic makeup of the American public, letting in a lot of northern Europeans, a few southern and eastern ones, and only a handful of Asians. As the above congressional report subtly explained it, if "the principles of individual liberty . . . [are] to endure, the basic strain of our population must be maintained

Stephen Chapman is a Washington writer.

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Let the Aliens In

and our economic standards preserved."

With only a few changes, the quotas lasted until 1965, when Congress passed a new Immigration and Nationality Act that was aimed principally at reuniting families, admitting needed workers, and granting sanctuary to political refugees from Communist countries and the Middle East. Aliens who didn't fit into these categories simply were not to be admitted. Disturbed by the arrival of 160,000 immigrants a year from the Western Hemisphere (almost all from Latin America), Congress placed a quota on them of 120,000 a year—the first time in our history it had placed a numerical limit on Latin immigrants. Congress presumably shared the sentiments of the cynic who scorned President McKinley's professions of affection for "our little brown-skinned brothers": "They may be related to President McKinley, but they're not related to me."

Heedless of the chilly welcome, a lot of our neighbors still want to come, with the main consequence of the 1965 ceiling being a "silent invasion" of illegal aliens that has unnerved many observers to the point of near-hysteria. Though the invasion has been silent, the reaction to it has been very noisy. A good deal of frightened talk is afoot about how to save ourselves from being drowned in this "brown tide" of illegal aliens, most of it boiling down to one simple idea: get them out and keep them out.

Such talk in Congress and the White House is nothing if not popular. A Gallup poll last year discovered that 74 per cent of Americans regard illegal aliens as a "very serious" or "fairly serious" national problem, with 82 per cent blaming at least one of our social ills on their presence. Most revealing of all, 57 per cent of those polled agreed with the unequivocal declaration, "Illegal aliens should be rounded up and sent back to where they came from." Gallup likely could have found a majority in favor of melting down the Statue of Liberty and selling it for scrap, perhaps replacing it with a giant replica of a snarling Doberman Pinscher to underscore the point.

That the drawbridge to the golden door is now in danger of being pulled up is due mostly to the vigorous xenophobia of former Marine Corps commandant General Leonard Chapman, who retired in January after four years as commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. When in 1973 he assumed control of a small, little-noticed agency demoralized by scandals and the impossible job of keeping out illegal aliens, Chapman took the offensive, warning publicly of an impending "national catastrophe" and publishing inflammatory magazine articles with titles like "Illegal Aliens: Time to Call a Halt!" According to Charles Keeley, a sociology professor at Fordham University, "Chapman was a master at defining the issues for the purpose of increasing his budget. By very skillful manipulation of the press, he created a crisis mentality, which perfectly fit his agency's bureaucratic needs." In

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addition to valuable support from such interest groups as the AFL-CIO, the American Legion, and Zero Population Growth, Chapman's campaign was favored by circumstance, coming at a time of severe economic troubles; and the accident that most illegal aliens have brown skin didn't hurt his efforts either.

It's no surprise that the public concern about illegal aliens has been fostered by a government agency less interested in the public than in more power, greater prestige, and a bigger budget; that, after all, is how things usually work in Washington. What is more disquieting is that the perception of a crisis has grown out of confused thinking that rests on questionable premises, unsubstantiated statistics, and groundless myths. It's also disturbing that the issue so easily raised a public clamor in a nation of liberal traditions incompatible with xenophobic hyperbole.

Most of our fears about illegal aliens are without foundation and the conclusions drawn from them, however popular, are thus mistaken. Instead of talking about throwing out all our illegal aliens and doing our damnedest to make sure they don't come back, we ought to be taking precisely the opposite tack and legalizing the status of illegal aliens already here, while eliminating the numerical quotas on immigration from the Western Hemisphere.

Training the Mule

Chapman's public relations techniques in his campaign were reminiscent of the farmer who began his mule's training by clubbing him over the head to get his attention; his weapon was the untiring repetition of huge numbers. In one congressional hearing he placed the number of illegal aliens at four to five million, but when asked about the basis of his estimate, Chapman replied, "It is just a midpoint between the two extremes. I have heard one or two million at one end of the scale and eight or ten million at the other. So I am selecting a midpoint . . . just a guess, that is all. Nobody knows." An Immigration and Naturalization Service-commissioned study by Lesko Associates, a Washington consulting firm, had little success in narrowing the wide range of estimates. It guessed there were about 8.2 million illegal aliens in the U.S., but such experts as Wayne Cornelius, an assistant professor of political science at MIT and a longtime student of the subject, have criticized Lesko's estimate as much too high and its methods as scientifically dubious.

The only hard numbers available are statistics on INS apprehensions. In 1975, for instance, the agency caught and deported 766,600 illegal aliens—but using that figure as a basis for estimating a total number, as INS does, is questionable at best. Since many aliens are apprehended more than once, the number of aliens who are caught is probably quite a bit lower than the total apprehensions. One Border Patrol officer tells of apprehending and deporting a single Mexican five times in one night. As General Chapman admitted, no one knows how many illegal aliens there are in the U. S., and there is probably no way of finding out.

That hasn't stopped Chapman and his allies from using their unreliable estimates as the basis of even more unreliable calculations of how much illegal aliens cost the government. According to their line of reasoning, aliens impose a burden on taxpaying Americans by using public services, welfare benefits, and food stamps—all for free, since they don't pay taxes. Factual support for this argument is conspicuously absent, no doubt because what concrete evidence there is discredits the theory. In fact, most employers deduct both income and FICA taxes from the paychecks of their illegal workers, partly because they don't always know which ones are illegal and partly because they fear problems with the IRS and the Social Security Administration. At the same time, illegal workers tend to avoid any

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contact with government agencies, even those that might provide help, out of fear of being caught. A Department of Labor study by David North and Marion Houstoun last year reported:

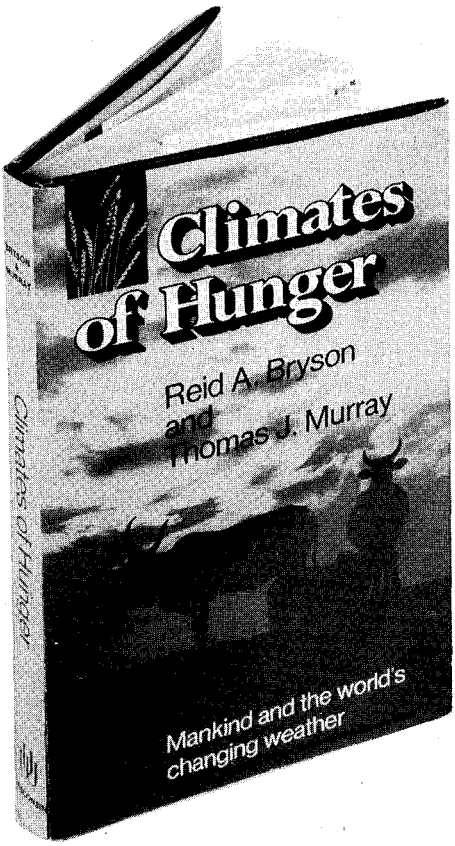
"This group of illegal alien workers were significantly more likely to have participated in tax-paying systems (many of which are automatic) than to have used tax-supported programs . . . while 77 per cent of the study group reported that they had had social security taxes and 73 per cent reported that they had federal income taxes withheld. Only 27 per cent used hospitals or clinics, four per cent collected one or more weeks of unemployment insurance, four per cent had children in U. S. schools, one per cent participated in U. S.-funded job-training programs, one per cent secured food stamps, and 0.5 per cent secured welfare payments."

A recent study by the San Diego County Human Resources Agency arrived at similar conclusions, estimating the county's annual cost in social services to illegal aliens at $2 million and the aliens' yearly contribution in taxes at more than $48 million. The reality, then, is just the opposite of the myth spread by Chapman and his ilk: illegal aliens contribute more than their fair share to government revenues and receive far less than their share of state and federal benefits. The General no doubt would be chagrined to learn that instead of aliens being a burden to the rest of us, it's the rest of us who are a burden to the aliens.

Unfair Competition

At the heart of organized labor's demands for measures to stop the influx of foreigners is the notion that they compete unfairly with American workers, displacing Americans from their jobs and depressing the general level of wages. Labor thinks a lot of our economic ailments would vanish if only the illegal aliens would. Chapman has gone so far as to argue that

Book-of-the-Month Club Alternate



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deporting all our illegal aliens would cut the unemployment rate in half.

Wayne Cornelius dismisses this belief as a "cruel illusion," and there is in fact little to support it. Many of the jobs held by illegal aliens are the kind that few Americans would accept, regardless of their skills. A California businessman who hires illegals told *New West* magazine, "If you pulled out every illegal alien in Los Angeles at midnight tonight, you would wake up tomorrow morning in a town without busboys, maids, or parking-lot attendants." North and Houstoun reported that most of their respondents worked as laborers (including farmworkers), service workers, and other semi-skilled or unskilled workers. Most of the aliens they surveyed were paid little more than the minimum wage, with some receiving even less than that. Like the North-Houstoun study, the San Diego report expressed doubt that aliens displace American workers, noting one instance in which the State Human Resources Agency could not fill 2,154 jobs made available by the deportation of illegal workers, a failure it blamed on the jobs' low wages, poor prestige, and long hours. San Diego, despite its 11.8-percent unemployment rate, had a similar experience: when some 340 jobs were vacated by illegal aliens, INS was unable to fill them with Americans and finally let the employers hire commuter workers from Mexico. North and Houstoun also concluded that illegal aliens neither compete with skilled American workers nor depress wages. Eliot Abrams, an aide to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, says flatly, "There's no evidence that the average alien depresses wages. Aliens either get good wages or they get low pay for jobs no one else will take."

The aliens don't make much difference to unemployment because unskilled Americans understandably prefer subsisting on welfare or unemployment payments to working long hours at low-paying drudgery. The low unemployment rate in Texas is largely a consequence of the state's stingy assistance to the poor. Conversely, the high unemployment rates in cities like New York and Chicago, where aliens are believed to flock, is probably due far less to the aliens than to the generally stagnant economic conditions in the industrial Northeast and the attractiveness of the relatively high welfare and unemployment benefits in such cities, which are enough to make any unskilled worker think twice about working for a living.

It will be argued that if illegal aliens are given legal status, they will likewise choose relief benefits over low-paying jobs, but the evidence suggests otherwise. Aliens, like most immigrants, generally appear eager to accept work of any kind because of the social stigma they attach to not working, the improvement it represents over jobs in their native countries, and the hope of advancement. "Apart from any consideration of their illegal status," said North and Houstoun, "they appear to be like immigrant workers: highly motivated and hard-working employees, whom U. S. employers regard as very productive workers, despite the fact that many do not speak English."

The Welfare of the Cubans

The American experience with immigrants from Cuba during the 1960s implies that aliens do not come to the U. S. to sit back and collect welfare checks. When hundreds of thousands of Cuban refugees poured into Miami in the decade following Castro's revolution, many Miamians feared they would swell the relief rolls. Contrary to popular belief, few of the Cubans were wealthy, and even those who were arrived almost penniless. According to Susan Jacoby, who has written extensively about aliens in the U. S., "By 1962, small businessmen, technicians, clerical workers, and urban factory workers were arriving by the thousands." Now, Jacoby says, "Miami is filled with

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small businessmen who were blue-collar workers in Cuba." Despite a special federal welfare program for them, the Cubans wasted no time in finding jobs, however menial; by 1974 only 10 per cent were on the welfare rolls, most of them elderly people. And the hard work has paid off: Jacoby notes that the "median income of Cuban families rose from $5,244 in 1967 to $8,091 in 1970." Not only that, but local officials say the Cubans have created at least 100,000 jobs since they arrived.

The case of the Vietnamese refugees is less encouraging, but the presence of many of them on welfare rolls appears due partly to the unique circumstances of their immigration and our efforts at settling them in American society. The Vietnamese emigrated to the United States with little preparation and no real purpose besides escaping what they expected would be a very unpleasant fate. Coming from an Eastern society, they faced greater cultural and linguistic barriers than did the Cubans or other immigrants from Latin America.

But the blame for nearly a third ending up receiving welfare payments lies mostly on the federal government. "The government leaned overboard in making assistance available to the Vietnamese, without making them understand that collecting welfare is not the normal way of life here," says Leon Marion, Executive Director of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service. "These people didn't learn how to operate in our culture, and didn't realize that everyone is supposed to work for a living. Putting them on welfare was a simple solution to a very complex problem." But the majority of the Vietnamese here have barely been in this country two years, and Marion sees their swelling of the welfare rolls as a short-run problem that will correct itself in time. "More Vietnamese are going to resettlement agencies for help in finding gainful employment, and they turn out to be hard, earnest workers," he says. "They give an employer his money's worth." The problem of a temporary swelling of the welfare rolls is one we have to face, but experience shows that it is only temporary. Other refugees from Communism than the Vietnamese, like the Hungarians and the aforementioned Cubans, are no longer dependent on welfare.

It's foolish to pretend that open immigration will be completely free of problems, but most of them seem easily surmountable. For instance, we can count on the greed of the American Bar and Medical Associations to safeguard against the brain drain from underdeveloped countries that open immigration might cause.

The Fixed Pie

The vaguest but one of the most persistent myths about illegal aliens is that their mere numbers strain our economic capacity, thus lowering our standard of living. This opinion rests on a false conception of a fixed pie—the more people there are, the smaller each slice. As noted above, the Cuban experience in Miami suggests that the influx of immigrants actually stimulated the local economy. Historically, there appears to be no correlation between the rate of immigration and economic health. One of the healthiest periods in American economic history, 1881 to 1921, coincided with the arrival of 25 million foreigners. The Great Depression, on the other hand, came only a few years after we established the first immigration quotas. Nor is there any obvious relationship today between the number of illegal aliens in a given region and that region's prosperity; some states, like those of the Southwest, have healthy economies despite a lot of aliens, while the industrial cities have both aliens and poor economic health.

One reason the debate about aliens so often goes astray is that it concentrates on their effects on the rest of us, ignoring humanitarian questions of whether or not coming here is good

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for them. Our immigration laws slam the door on thousands of people who would like to move to the U. S., and that in itself is a bad thing. Moreover, many would-be immigrants—who come mostly from poor, authoritarian countries in Latin America—see the U. S. as the only way out of a life of poverty, ignorance, and oppression, and in most cases they are probably right. To keep them out is not only to circumscribe their freedom, but also to sentence them to a bleak, painful existence they desperately want to escape. The people who founded the United States pictured it not as an entrenched and isolated outpost but as a beacon for the rest of the world and a refuge for the oppressed. We may have grown cynical about such notions, but is it right to turn away all the foreigners who still take them seriously?

Under the worst of circumstances, namely living here illegally, what the aliens find in the U. S. is plainly better than what they left behind, which of course is why they came. Even the lowest wages paid in the U. S. are much higher than most could dream of making at home. *New West* mentions one Mexican who got $1.35 an hour stripping paint in his first job here—ten times what he earned driving a delivery truck in Mexico.

But legalizing their status and loosening restrictions on immigration to make illegal entry unnecessary would substantially improve the aliens' lot, which is what many Americans apparently regard as scandalous.

Obviously, the aliens would benefit from the ordinary rights and privileges accorded other American workers. The illegal alien's outlaw status undercuts his bargaining power and compels him to accept nearly anything his employer chooses to inflict on him, from low pay to long hours to poor working conditions. If he complains, his employer can fire him or even have him arrested by the INS. The alien can hardly demand that he receive the minimum wage or be allowed to join a union (although some unions have illegal aliens as members). If he is mistreated, defrauded, or injured on the job, he is not likely to seek legal redress. All the pressures on the illegal worker encourage him to do what he's told, take whatever pay he's given, and keep his mouth shut.

Many employers take full advantage of the opportunity to exploit the aliens. They often pay illegals substandard wages—a practice made possible not by the normal dictates of the market, but by a "black market" in labor that puts the employer in an abnormally strong position and the employee in an abnormally weak one. North and Houstoun discovered, for example, that the aliens in their survey generally "earned less per week than comparably employed U. S. workers, though they generally worked considerably longer hours." The aliens in industrial jobs worked an average of 44.5 hours a week, while comparable Americans worked only 35.9 hours. Illegal aliens no doubt also suffer relatively poor working conditions.

They are also vulnerable to even more flagrant abuses. It is a common practice for farmers in the Southwest to hire illegal Mexicans for a couple of weeks and then call the Border Patrol when payday rolls around. The Border Patrol hauls the aliens away and the farmer gets a couple of weeks' labor for only the cost of room and board. A former official of California's North County Chicano Federation told the San Diego Human Resources Agency that such incidents are standard practice among many citrus and flower growers, who they estimate owe illegal aliens $20,000 in back pay. Another Chicano organization said that kickbacks to field bosses and excessive deductions for room and board likewise are common practices. The San Diego report mentioned an incident in which an illegal alien who suffered three heart attacks was refused permission to see a doctor; when he finally visited one on his own, he was fired.

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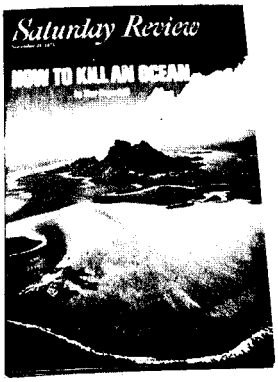

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Body Smugglers

Of course, many aliens have to go through a lot of hardship just to get into the U. S. Some pay hundreds of dollars to professional body-smugglers for help in getting across the border, and hundreds more for forged papers, "green cards" (Alien Registration Receipt Cards), and entry documents—some of which are so poorly forged as to be worthless, although the aliens have no way of knowing that. Aliens who walk across the border (as most illegals do) are often attacked by gangs of hoodlums on either side. One Border Patrol officer told the *Washington Star*, "On the American side, we broke up gangs of local high school kids who had been lying in wait for the wets. They were robbing them, beating them up, raping the women. We even had two 12-year-old kids who were stationing themselves at the end of a long culvert drainpipe that the aliens used to sneak through. They were shaking them down for 15 or 20 bucks apiece, threatening to call us if they didn't pay up."

Without erecting a Berlin Wall along the Mexican border and subjecting employers and illegal aliens to all sorts of draconian measures—which would require much higher expenditures and expanded enforcement—there is no way to stop the influx of people from Latin America. Too many people want too badly to get in, and we would gain little from redoubling our efforts to keep them out.

And it is not likely that more liberal immigration laws would attract unmanageable numbers of foreigners. The current length of time that Western Hemisphere people have to wait for visas is about three years, which at the current quota means a total of only 360,000 people are waiting, hardly an alarming number. Charles Keeley is skeptical of scare talk about the flood of aliens who would arrive if restrictions were relaxed. "You would probably get a big initial flow, but not necessarily an unreasonably high number, and after that the number would probably drop off sharply," he says. "I'm not so sure everybody's dying to get in here." Wayne Cornelius says few illegal aliens from Mexico want to live here permanently anyway, and that most of them come for less than six months. Keeley agrees, noting that one million legal aliens left the U. S. during the 1960s.

In keeping in mind the humanitarian reasons for letting in more foreigners, it is not necessary to lose sight of our own interests; letting them in need not be a purely selfless gesture. After all, the rest of us have much to gain from the continual infusion of new people, whose mere presence testifies to their determination and willingness to take risks. One nice thing about the difficulty of immigrating is that it weeds out those who are timid or lazy, leaving only the adventurous and the ambitious. The old American ideal of the melting pot is based, in part, on the knowledge that most of the foreigners who come to America are those with the qualities most beneficial to a dynamic society.

Indeed, the strangest thing about the controversy over illegal aliens is that it so seldom touches on our hallowed tradition of welcoming the weary immigrant, a tradition that goes to the heart of the nation's character and purpose. There are few American traditions nobler than that of providing a sanctuary to the weak, freedom for the persecuted, and opportunities for achievement to the ambitious; and for that matter, few that have had such far-reaching benefits.

Like our own parents and grandparents, foreigners come to this country today to lift themselves out of poverty, to escape political oppression, to give their children a better life. The choice is between continuing this legacy and standing at the walls to beat back the hordes—a choice that tests not only our trust in our heritage and our free institutions, but our humanity as well. ■

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Success In America

by Nicholas Lemann

We're a nation obsessed with success and how it is achieved—with good reason, because the possibility of success is what fuels so many of us. So central is the notion of success to the way we operate and think of ourselves that it explains a lot about our society. The path to the top is a reflection of the nature of America, and in turn helps shape the country.

But like true love, success in America is hard to define in the abstract—it's more that we know it when we see it. Whether it means wealth, or fame, or power, or just happiness can all be debated endlessly; it's much easier to agree on who is successful and who is not. Right now a convenient group example of recently anointed success is Jimmy Carter's Cabinet, whose members, taken together, provide a useful picture of the particulars of the way upward.

Several clear patterns emerge from the life stories of the Cabinet members, and the first is their relatively humble origins. Although some of their parents were comfortably middle-class, none were wealthy and several were genuinely poor. Ray Marshall was raised in a Baptist orphanage. Michael Blumenthal's parents were refugees from the Nazis, and he grew up in wartime Shanghai and came to the United States penniless. Juanita Kreps grew up in a dirt-poor coal-mining town in Kentucky. Patricia Roberts Harris' father was a dining-car waiter. Bob Bergland, even in his twenties, had to leave his farm in Minnesota during the winters to take construction work in Florida to make ends meet. None of the Cabinet members owe any of their success to positions passed on to them by their parents, and their stories are heartening proof that the dizzy pinnacles of our society really are open to the meritorious.

What first brought them up in the world was education. College, which all eleven Cabinet members attended, was not in itself the great determining step—only Vance and Brown spent their undergraduate years in the Ivy League, presumably because the others weren't affluent or well-connected enough to be part of the world that goes there. Most of them went to state schools, and a few to more obscure places: Marshall to Millsaps in Mississippi and Kreps to Berea in Kentucky. What's more striking is how many went on to get graduate degrees—nine of the eleven, four of whom have Ph.D.s. Good grades, and the degrees they brought, gave these people an important first push.

From there on it was a life of accumulating impressive positions in the well-established institutions of business, education, law, or government—or, most often, some combination of them. Most of the members of the Cabinet were wunderkinds at some stage of their careers. Harold Brown was director at the Livermore Laboratory at 32, number-three man at the Pentagon at 33, and president of the California Institute of Technology at 42. Blumenthal was the youngest man of ambassadorial rank in the Kennedy administration. At 34 Joseph Califano became Lyndon Johnson's most important aide.

They also were good at becoming

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proteges to men who helped them along—Brown to Robert McNamara, Cyrus Vance to Lyndon Johnson, Califano to Vance and then Johnson himself. This kind of contact was especially important, and the Cabinet members have lived lives generally full of contacts, built up through varied service, through memberships on boards, through political work, through advising the government. They became the kind of people any new President would be aware of, and although they came from various locales and walks of life it's hard to imagine that at the first Cabinet meeting many introductions had to be made.

The strongest impression that emerges from the group's lives is that success in America is achieved by gathering those honors that are conferred by the nation's established organizational structure. It's those organizations that are the route to the top, rather than smaller or newer ones. Only one of the Cabinet members, Bob Bergland, ever started his own business early in life; the rest came to lead institutions others had founded years before. When Carter picked them, it was because of the titles and reputations institutional life has given them.

The Class of Leaders

At first glance, success in America may seem to have been ever thus, but that is not the case. The Establishment is so established in America that it appears eternal; in fact, it has changed markedly over the years. From the signing of the Declaration of Independence on, of course, there has always been a class of leaders in this country who knew each other and who functioned more or less as a group, but the way they attain their leadership positions now is different from what it once was.

It's easy to see this from looking at an exactly comparable group of 75 years ago, the Cabinet of Theodore Roosevelt. The life stories of its members are strikingly different from those of their counterparts today.

By and large, Roosevelt's Cabinet members succeeded in the same meritocratic way as Carter's—through their own efforts rather than inherited advantage. But unlike today's Cabinet members, their careers didn't necessarily rest on an educational base. There was a Treasury Secretary who left school at 14, an Attorney General who hadn't gone to law school, and nobody with anywhere near a Ph.D. Instead, the first big boost usually came with the founding of some sort of business at a relatively early age.

All three of Roosevelt's Attorneys General started their own law firms, and so did four other members of his Cabinet; Carter's lawyers joined well-established firms. The first Treasury Secretary Roosevelt appointed, Leslie M. Shaw, founded a successful bank and mortgage loan business in Iowa. His successor, George B. Cortelyou, set himself up in business as a stenographer, and worked his way up through a series of important clients. James Wilson, the Secretary of Agriculture, started his own farm. Ethan Hitchcock, the Interior Secretary, made a fortune in the commission business in China and then founded the first successful plate glass factory in America. It was through institutions of their own creation that the members of Roosevelt's Cabinet rose to prominence.

An Emblematic Change

In short, we've gone from a Cabinet of entrepreneurs to a Cabinet of bureaucrats. The change in Cabinets is emblematic of a change in the nature of success in America. In Roosevelt's day the entrepreneur was widely lionized; every schoolchild was made familiar with the stories of Thomas Edison, Henry Ford, George Washington Carver, and other men who had raised themselves from obscurity by working hard and

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"Of course, it wasn't easy, and there were plenty of times when I didn't know what to do, but, God bless 'em, all the kids had gumption. Homer is a full partner in a prestigious law firm now. Daphne is a psychiatrist. Ollie is the comptroller of an enormous conglomerate. Irma's second novel has just gone into its seventeenth printing. Osgood is a top-echelon TV-network executive. Penelope is a professor of oceanography at a large university. Louis is concertmaster of a world-famous symphony orchestra. Miriam owns a chain of highly successful boutiques. Elsie ran for the legislature and won by a landslide. Mortimer is the chief geologist for a giant oil company. Gertrude is vice-president of a big advertising agency. Herman is a plastic surgeon with a huge practice. And little Jerome, the baby of the lot, has his very own Ph.D. and heads an important research group that analyzes the media, bless his heart."

Drawing by W. Miller; ©1976 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

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inventing, or discovering, or founding something new.

In the intervening 75 years, the great organizations that were founded in Roosevelt's day have grown, prospered, and come to dominate our national life, so that now the energies of ambitious people are channeled through them. Also, as the economy has shifted its weight increasingly away from production and towards services, it has come to reward expertise and interpersonal skills more than innovation. As a result, the enterprise-starter has given way as a national model of success to the riser through the ranks, like the members of today's Cabinet.

When those organization men rise to the top, they shape the society according to their own conditioning. Because they owe their own success to getting good grades, amassing titles, and impressing university boards, foundation directors, corporate managers, and Presidents, they are likely to continue to focus on these things, and to encourage them in their employees. Having risen in large and stable institutions, they've acquired a vested interest in the way things are, and major change can never seem sensible. Playing life to an audience of potential employers, with all that implies, is seen today as an absolute precondition of success.

Writ large, all these qualities produce a sluggish, change-avoiding nation. Because our leaders have been conditioned to focus on rising within the company, rather than on what the company does, they're often beaten by their foreign counterparts on matters of technological and other kinds of innovation. When our corporations can't build the best small cars or televisions, when our government can't deal directly and efficiently with welfare or crime, it's become standard to blame it on bureaucracy. But bureaucratic behavior can in turn be blamed on how people now define their aspirations, on what they want to do with their lives.

The Explicit Tie

A couple of examples, one from business and one from the government, show how explicit is the tie between the way to success and our larger social ills.

In America's top business schools, which produce the shepherds of the economy, there's an informal hierarchy of prestige that the students apply to the various parts of the business world that they might enter upon graduation. The closer a student can hew to the top of the hierarchy, the more successful he and his peers consider himself. Talking to business students yields the news that the most prestigious career is in management or financial consulting; at the bottom is basic industry; and starting a business is considered too impossibly risky even to consider. Within a big, diversified corporation, the prestige ranking of the four major divisions goes like this: corporate finance is best, then internal management, then sales; production, considered the province of sweaty engineers, brings up the rear. A ranking according to national need might be precisely the reverse, but because of what currently constitutes success, the ablest young businessmen will troop off to juggle investments instead of concentrating on improving their products.

The government example comes from Dean Rusk, a poor Georgia boy who made his way up through a series of ever more prestigious university, foundation, and government jobs. A few weeks ago Rusk gave the newspapers a rare interview on foreign policy, a subject on which he usually prefers to be discreet. He was asked to comment on Andrew Young's alarming habit of actually saying forthrightly what is true about foreign affairs, rather than concentrating on getting along with everyone. It isn't that Young is a bad man, Rusk said; one has to understand that he is laboring under a severe handicap in life: "Never having worked for a boss

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before." In other words, learning to please employers produces the kinds of results Rusk gave America during his Vietnam-era stewardship of the State Department—exactly what we don't need. Clearly, national problems and the nature of personal ambition go hand-in-hand.

A case in point is energy. It's striking how many of today's institutions date from the Theodore Roosevelt era, and how central energy was to the system created then. The greatests paradigms of success then had something to do with energy—digging up its raw materials, refining and shipping it, inventing ways to use it to light and heat and transport America. However unattractive John D. Rockefeller and Henry Ford may have been, they did create a corporate structure, based on new technology, that came to dominate America.

Since their time, the energy establishment and its spinoffs have grown large and prosperous and a little fat, to the point where it's clear that the oil companies, the car manufacturers, and the utilities, along with the law firms they spawned, the universities they funded, and the government agencies that sprang up largely in response to their excesses, cannot solve the problems of the world they control. More disturbing, the government's response has been to work out elaborate regulatory compromises and to create agencies filled with people who have great resumes—in other words, to assume bureaucratic solutions will work when entrepreneurial ones are clearly needed. The energy world was invented in a short period around the turn of the century, and having lived out its natural life in its present form, it needs to be reinvented today. The trouble is, our natural inclination is to entrust this grave problem to our most successful people—who by the nature of their success are uniquely unsuited to deal with it. Thinking about the nature of success may seem like an exercise in abstraction, but a change in that thinking can meet our most concrete needs. ■

Changing Prescriptions

Because we're a nation in which success is supposed to be open to everyone, advice on how to achieve it has always been zealously sought by the American people. Benjamin Franklin's *The Way to Wealth* was the new nation's first bestseller, and since its publication, there have been hundreds more prescriptions to success that have sold well and been studied assiduously.

But as the nature of success has changed, so have the prescriptions. Until about 1930, success literature, following Franklin's lead, stressed thrift and industry; since then the emphasis has shifted to the ability to deal with other people. Richard M. Huber, in a fascinating study of this literature called *The American Idea of Success*, calls these two creeds the "character ethic" and the "personality ethic" and shows that the transition from one to the other has been dramatic and complete.

As Huber points out, success literature has to be taken with a grain of salt because it's geared in large measure to producing loyal servants of whatever elite happens to be governing at the moment—but it still shows what qualities that elite values most highly.

The most popular success tract of the early 20th century was a little essay called *A Message to Garcia*, which must once have been familiar to practically every American who could read, and many who couldn't. It was first published in a magazine called *The Philistine* in 1899; from there the New York Central Railroad picked it up and reprinted more than a million copies; and eventually informed guesses are that the circulation of *A Message to Garcia* reached 40 million. It was translated

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into more than 40 languages. In the Russo-Japanese War, the soldiers of both sides carried copies in their knapsacks; and in this country, it was an enduring favorite of school teachers, ministers, and businessmen. Its author was an eccentric soap salesman turned author named Elbert Hubbard, who edited *The Philistine* and who wrote the *Message* in an hour one evening after his son had casually suggested the idea.

The *Message* is a 1,500-word lionization of a U.S. Army lieutenant named Andrew S. Rowan, who during the Spanish-American War carried, on the instructions of President McKinley, a vital message to General Calixito Garcia y Inigues, the Cuban insurgent leader, who was hiding out somewhere in the mountains at the time. Rowan, as Hubbard told it, "disappeared into the jungle, and in three weeks came out on the other side of the island, having traversed a hostile country on foot, and delivered his letter to Garcia." But this story in particular was something Hubbard had "no special desire to tell in detail"; instead, his aim was to glorify the can-do spirit that made carrying the message to Garcia possible, to complain about its scarcity in modern America, and to point out that it is the key to success. "It is not book learning young men need," Hubbard wrote, "or instruction about this and that, but a stiffening of the vertebrae which will cause them to be loyal to a trust, to act promptly, concentrate their energies: do the thing. . . ."

If the *Message* was the great classic of the character ethic, the analagous milestone for the personality ethic was Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People*, which since its publication in 1936 has sold more than eight million copies in English alone and spawned a series of instructional courses that have graduated hundreds of thousands more. Carnegie was a salesman, actor, and elocutionist from a small town in Missouri who made his name teaching public speaking courses in YMCAs; his book is a guide to popularity, and through it, material success. "Dealing with people," he wrote, "is probably the biggest problem you face, especially if you are a business man." *How to Win Friends* is divided into sections, like "Fundamental Techniques in Handling People," "Six Ways to Make People Like You," and "Twelve Ways to Win People to Your Way of Thinking." Hard work and ingenuity aren't even mentioned; a smile and a winning way had become, by Carnegie's time, the undisputed way to the top.

The personality ethic caught on quickly. In the years following the publication of *How to Win Friends*, millions of Americans bought books and products designed to make them smell nice, look pleasant, speak convincingly, smile well, develop a congenial manner, and staff the great bureaucracy being created by the New Deal. In 1946 *Fortune* asked executives to say which single quality had "contributed most to your success"; the majority answered "ability to handle people." Willy Loman summed up his successful days to his sons by saying that he had been not just liked, but well liked.

In the seventies the books have taken on what we've called a screw-your-buddy tone, as can be seen in the titles of two of the most successful recent ones, Robert Ringer's *Winning Through Intimidation* and Michael Korda's *Power! How to Get It, How to Use It*. But whether you're advised to smile at your co-worker or stab him in the back, the use of interpersonal skills in a bureaucratic setting is still the crux of the matter. How to do better at the substance of your job, if it's discussed at all, takes a distant back seat to how to get the corner office. And if anyone fears the tide may be abating, be heartened by the news that Korda is back on the fall publishing lists with a new study—called *Success!*

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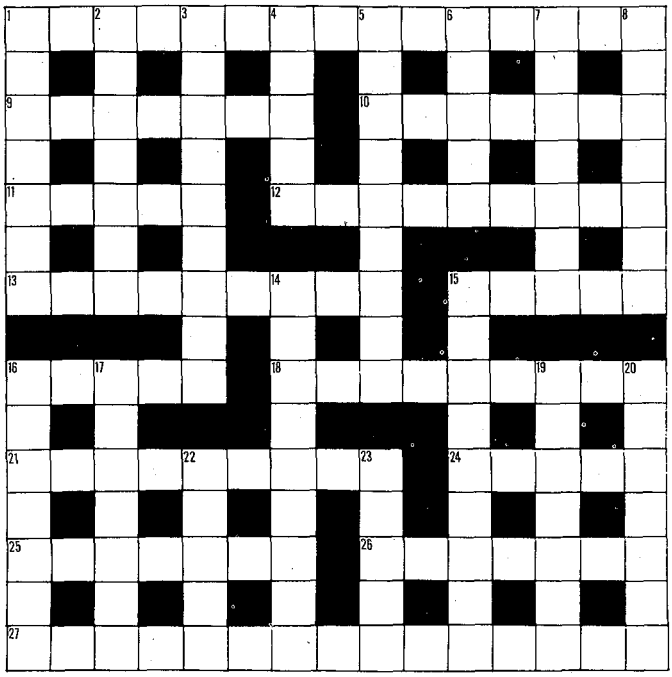
the political puzzle

by John Barclay



ACROSS

1. Pine candy needed to make real holiday. (12,3)
9. Is this where professor spoke wildly recently? No, why? (7)
10. How bees, for example, seek God? (7)
11. Fragile country? (5)
12. Fast way to travel over adobe step. (9)
13. Nine tents arranged for game need. (6,3)
15. Actresses' busts? (5)
16. Due to go back and win inside. (5)
18. New York meats for Santa's elves. (9)
21. Took away from land, indeed. (9)
24. Flu bug in foreign wines. (5)
25. Shy tone could be optimum rule of conduct. (7)
26. Laconic reform for dunce-cap style. (7)
27. The very foul jury comes around when 1 Across does. (5,4,6)

DOWN

1. Improper here in France in lilt composition. (7)
2. Speaks in a way to predict Ionian style return. (7)
3. The Gipper ran around getting started. (9)
4. Taboos for Nanette. (2-3)
5. It is clear how to make levity end. (9)
6. Stormy Washington sea put in boxes. (5)
7. Kissinger and Zhivago both have D.C. roots, in a way. (7)
8. Yet "si, si!" translated becomes even clearer. (3,2,2)
14. Sun out somehow around toy makes unpleasant rejoinder. (4,2,3)
15. Packs large crowd in coin marts. (5,4)
16. Second hand pump is quite comfortable. (3,4)
17. Form of tin seen very deep. (7)
19. Demonstrator for a little business in eternity. (7)
20. The last form of trickery. (7)
22. Like, for example, making a test. (5)
23. Rot sounds like don't know initially. (5)

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g. (2,3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g. USA, are treated as one word.
Answers to last month's puzzle are on page 32.

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Where to Stay in Washington

by Jill Merrill

So many of our readers have work that causes them to visit Washington, we have decided to start a regular feature that will give them practical information to help make their stay a pleasant one, information about where to stay and where to eat. Whether you're on a tight budget or a generous expense account, we'll try to guide you to the right places. This month's subject is where to stay. Where to eat will be in the next issue and they will alternate thereafter.

The hotels listed here are all located in the center of the city along—or near—the Connecticut Avenue corridor, beginning at K Street and ending in Upper Northwest above Rock Creek Park. They are all northwest of the White House. Hotels in other parts of the city will be covered in future issues.

Unless otherwise noted, all hotels have rooms with private bath, television, air conditioning, and allow children under 12 (usually the limit is two) to stay free of charge in the parents' room. The prices listed are for a double room and do not include the eight per cent sales tax. Free parking is emphasized because it is a definite plus in a city where parking is scarce and expensive ($3.50-$4.00 a day downtown). The places we recommend most highly are indicated by an asterisk.

Anthony House, 1823 L St., 223-4320. $37. 100 rooms. Restaurant. No free parking.

Barbizon Terrace, 2118 Wyoming Ave., 483-1350. $25.50. 77 rooms. No room service, no free parking. Coin laundry, restaurants nearby. Good location, just off Connecticut.

Capital Hilton, 1001 16th St., 393-1000. $48-$65. 816 rooms. Children free, charge for parking. Several restaurants, including Trader Vic's. Formerly the Statler Hilton, this noisy, "convention" hotel is three blocks from the White House. It is also very close to the **Sheraton-Carlton** and the **Hay Adams** (see below) whose prices are competitive and which are infinitely preferable in other ways. They are quieter, smaller, much more attractive than the Capital Hilton—and the service is better.

Dupont Plaza, 1500 New Hampshire Ave. (on Dupont Circle), 483-6000. $49-$63. 312 rooms. Rooms equipped with refrigerator, wet bar. Restaurant. No free parking. Children free under 14.

Embassy Row, 2015 Massachusetts Avenue, 265-1600. $48 and up, up, up. 222 rooms. No free parking. Pool and fancy restaurant (Le Consulat). Expensive, with an international atmosphere. Not for the budget-conscious.

***Executive House**, 1515 Rhode Island Ave., 232-7000. $40. 200 rooms. Pool, FREE parking. Restaurant, refrigerators in all rooms.

***Fairfax Hotel**, 2100 Massachusetts Ave., 293-2100. $35. 147 rooms. No free parking, two very expensive restaurants (The Jockey Club and the Sea Catch) if you're feeling flush. In addition to the very reasonable price for a double room, the Fairfax offers suites—living room, bedroom, bath, and full

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kitchen—at an incredibly cheap $48. There is a $5 per child charge. As this is primarily a residential hotel, the atmosphere is quiet and the rooms modest but clean.

***Gralyn Hotel**, 1745 N St., 785-1515. $30. 34 rooms. Parking FREE. Most rooms have air-conditioning and bath in this marvelous, European-style hotel which was once the Persian embassy. A grudging acquiesence to modern conveniences has been made, but apparently an elevator was too much. There is no restaurant but a full breakfast (for $3.25) is served in the garden. NO credit cards. Located on a charming side street as is the **Tabard Inn** (below).

Gramercy Inn, 1616 Rhode Island Ave., 347-9550. $50. 320 rooms. FREE parking. Pool, restaurant. Refrigerators and wet bars in some rooms.

***Hay-Adams**, 800 16th St., 638-2260. $45-$70. 165 rooms. Children under 14 free. This is the *grande dame* of Washington hotels. From the moment you enter these paneled halls, there is a feeling of history being made. Indeed, many notables do hang out here so keep a sharp eye. All the rooms are attractive. The ones overlooking the White House are more expensive, but the view is the best in Washington. No free parking, several nice restaurants.

Holiday Inn-Central, 1501 Rhode Island Ave., 483-2000. $40. 214 rooms. FREE parking. Pool. Restaurant and kennels for pets.

Holiday Inn-Connecticut Avenue, 1900 Connecticut Ave., 332-9300. $35-$42. 161 rooms. FREE parking. Pool. Restaurant and kennels.

Holiday Inn-Downtown, 1615 Rhode Island Avenue, 296-2100. $37-$42. 161 rooms. FREE parking. Pool. Restaurant and kennels.

Hotel John Kilpen, 2310 Ashmead Pl., 462-4336. $24. 80 rooms. There are "family rooms" available at $8 per guest (family of four, $32). No free parking. Overwhelming antiseptic smell, so it must be clean. For the budget-minded. Good location, right off Connecticut Avenue.

***Jefferson Hotel**, 1200 16th St. 347-4707. $40-$47.50 (for canopy or queen-sized bed). $60-$80 for suites. Children free under 14. This is a charming hotel in the European manner. The rooms are attractively decorated, with big, old-fashioned bathrooms. The suites have full kitchens, like the Fairfax, as well as living room, bedroom, and bath. Additional charge of $5 per child. The Jefferson is centrally located right across from the National Geographic Building—and offers the best return on one's dollar in Washington.

Madison Hotel, 15th & M Sts., 785-1000. $69-$79. 362 rooms. No free parking, children, or anything else, for that matter. If you've just inherited an Arab Emirate, this is the place for you. Orientalia abounds and

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all the amenities are offered: restaurants, sauna, shops, even bars and ice in every room. You can rent a suite (no kitchen) for a paltry $265-$395 dollars a day. What the Madison lacks in charm it compensates for in pretentiousness.

Mayflower, 1127 Connecticut Ave., 347-3000. $52-$67. 700 rooms. No free parking. Children free under 18. Big, bustling "convention" hotel in the heart of Washington. Lots happened here—J. Edgar Hoover dined here daily, Harry Truman predicted victory in '48.

National Hotel, 1809 I St., 628-5566. $20-$22. 76 rooms. Charge for children. No free parking. Very reasonable. No restaurant, but there is a coffee shop. In the middle of the downtown area.

Presidential Hotel, 900 19th St., 331-9020. $22. 130 rooms. Charge for children. No restaurant, no free parking. Convenient, clean, budget hotel.

Sheraton Carlton, 923 16th St., 638-2626. $57-$71. 250 rooms. Children free under 17. No free parking, two dining rooms. Within walking distance of the White House, this stylish, old hotel offers attractively decorated rooms, good service, and a refreshing step back to another, grander day.

Sheraton Park Hotel and Motor Inn, 2660 Woodley Road, 265-2000. $47.50-$53. Children under 18 free. No free parking. This is Washington's largest hotel complex, with 1600 rooms, skating rink, pools, restaurants, etc. Although above Rock Creek Park, good bus and taxi service will zip you downtown. Unfortunately, the sounds of construction shatter the sylvan setting. A new 10-story hotel building is going up behind the present main building. If necessity demands you stay here, try the Wardman Tower, the residential section of the hotel. These rooms are bigger and more attractive, and prices are about the same ($50-$53).

Shoreham Americana Hotel and Motel, 2500 Calvert Street, 234-0700. $48-$60. 800 rooms. Children free under 14. No free parking. The "other" big convention hotel above Rock Creek, the Shoreham is close to the Sheraton Park. Restaurants, pool, sauna as well as lighted tennis courts.

***Tabard Inn**, 1739 N Street, 785-1277. $38-$56. 47 rooms. No credit cards. Continental breakfast included in price. Like its neighbor, the **Gralyn**, the **Tabard** lacks an elevator; there is ample compensation, however, with recently renovated, spacious rooms with writing desks. Loaded with "old world" charm, this is where E. Everett Hale wrote *Man Without a Country*. A delightful, paneled sitting room adds to the cozy, European atmosphere.

Washington Hilton, 1919 Connecticut Ave., 483-3000. $50-$66. 1200 rooms. Several restaurants, pool, tennis courts, shops, game room. This is a great place for kids. Children free. Various family and weekend plans available.

YMCA, 1736 G St., 737-7900. $20. 60 rooms, mostly single. Charge for children. No restaurant, no free parking. Spartan.

YWCA, 1011 17th St., 638-2100. $22. 160 rooms. No children allowed. Middle of downtown area, pool, gym, cafeteria. No free parking.

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The Real Problem with the FDA

by Howie Kurtz

In early 1974 G.D. Searle and Company was preparing to release on the market a new artificial sweetener called aspartame. A white, odorless, crystalline powder that is 180 times as sweet as sugar, aspartame was meant for use in breakfast cereals, chewing gum, beverages, puddings, whipped toppings, coffee, and tea, among other things. Of course, aspartame needed the approval of the Food and Drug Administration before it could go on the market, so Searle duly submitted test results showing it to be safe. In July 1974 the FDA routinely approved it for general use.

It wasn't long, however, before independent scientists began to come up with disturbing evidence about aspartame. Dr. John Olney of Washington University School of Medicine in St. Louis said he had fed aspartame to mice and they developed brain lesions. "We found brain damage at the lowest effective dose we fed the mice," Olney said, "which is not a big amount if you're talking about a sweetener to be gobbled up by children and infants." A consumer group called LABEL cited studies that suggested aspartame could cause mental retardation in infants if consumed by pregnant women.

As the pressure and evidence mounted, the FDA agreed to take a second look at Searle's data, and created a special investigative task force to examine the company's testing procedures for aspartame and two other drugs.

The investigators concluded that Searle had distorted and falsified some of its data on aspartame. When test animals died in experiments, for example, Searle substituted the blood of other animals for the dead ones, the investigators said. One negative study by a pathologist was edited to make its findings appear more favorable. No slides were made of lesions found in some of the dead animals. There were discrepancies between Searle's raw data and the summaries it gave the FDA.

So in December 1975 the FDA withdrew its approval of aspartame, before any had been sold. Although Searle strongly denies it altered its data, the case has been turned over to a federal grand jury for prosecution. As for the future of aspartame, that is in the hands of an independent group of scientists who lack any investigative experience and who will be paid by Searle for their efforts. "If you think Searle is going to pay all this money and not have any say in the finding," says one FDA official, "you're kidding yourself."

It's unfortunate that when people think about the problems of the FDA these days, what comes to mind is not aspartame but a better known sweetener, saccharin.

Howie Kurtz is an investigative reporter for columnist Jack Anderson.

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"Generally Regarded as Safe,"
. . .means the FDA is not yet
convinced that they are unsafe.

The enormous unpopularity of the saccharin ban has sparked various reform moves in exactly the wrong direction, and neatly obscured a gaping flaw in the way the agency goes about its business: it decides whether or not to let a product go on the market on the basis of tests financed (and often directly conducted) by the product's own manufacturer. That's like relying on a neighborhood restaurant to conduct its own investigation into whether it has committed health violations. It's practically an invitation to the companies to cheat.

What testing does go on began fairly recently. Of the more than 2,500 food additives, artificial colors, and artificial flavors already on the market, fewer than half have been tested at all. Saccharin, for example, used to be one of 439 additives on an FDA list of substances "Generally Regarded as Safe," which means the FDA is not yet convinced that they are unsafe. The agency compiled this list in 1958 on the basis of educated hunches and a little-answered questionnaire. More than 70 per cent of the additives on the list have never been tested to see if they cause cancer or birth defects; only half have been tested for toxicity. Cyclamates, Red Dye No. 2, and the root beer flavoring saffrole were on the "Generally Regarded as Safe" list for years before being banned as cancer-causing agents.

Even when companies decide not to test their products themselves and farm them out to independent researchers, there is subtle pressure. One FDA scientist says researchers who find fault with a company's product may find they are not asked to participate in future studies. Or, he says, "The drug company may call up the scientist and say, 'We're very interested in your research on such-and-such, and we'd like to give you a $10,000 grant—as soon as this study is over.' "

Discrepancies in the Results

Although during the Nixon and Ford administrations the FDA hardly investigated products at all, the early sixties provided a wealth of examples of the hazards of corporate product testing.

One of the more graphic cases involved MER-29, a drug used to lower cholesterol levels. The drug was tested on monkeys by its manufacturer, William S. Merrell Company, and was approved by the FDA. But a former Merrell employee told the agency in 1962 that she had been ordered to falsify the original tests. One of the monkeys that received MER-29 had become ill and lost considerable weight; a normal, untreated, healthy monkey was quietly substituted for the sick one. Subsequent FDA investigating turned up other discrepancies in the test results that made the drug appear less toxic than it actually was, and the FDA later began receiving reports that the drug was causing cataracts in humans.

Three Merrell employees were

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"One FDA scientist says researchers who find fault with a company's product may find they are not asked to participate in future studies."

indicted for submitting false information to the FDA; they pleaded no contest and got six months' probation each. The firm was fined $80,000.

Apparently that didn't prove much of a deterrent. In 1964 Wallace and Tiernan Inc. was charged with making false statements to the FDA and intentionally concealing information about its tranquilizer Dornwal. Some people died from taking Dornwal, which the firm neglected to mention can cause a fatal blood disorder. The company did not contest the charge and was fined. Some of its employees were placed on probation.

Soon there was a deluge of such cases. McNeill Laboratories, a subsidiary of Johnson and Johnson, concealed information from the FDA about a muscle relaxant called Flexin. The drug caused at least 50 cases of liver damage, eleven of them fatal. Some people also died from taking the antibiotic Panalba, once one of the most frequently prescribed drugs in the country. Its manufacturer, the Upjohn Company, never told the FDA that Panalba caused serious adverse reactions. Thousands of people suffered such reactions before an FDA inspector in 1969 found information about the drug's harmful effects buried in Upjohn's files.

Some doctors also have been guilty of testing abuses. In the early 1960s Dr. Bennett A. Robin of Silver Spring, Maryland was testing new drugs for several companies. But Robin never actually performed some of the tests. "He concocted patients, he synthesized the doses—he made it all up," one former FDA official recalls. "He submitted these imaginary results to the FDA, and many people died from taking the drugs." Once the enterprising doctor was vacationing in Florida when he was supposed to be performing tests, the official says. Robin eventually pleaded no contest to criminal charges, was fined, and was placed on probation.

More recent revelations show that some clinical laboratories are also unreliable. The FDA has found, for example, that Biometric Testing Inc., a laboratory that does contract work for a wide variety of chemical and pharmaceutical firms as well as government agencies, uses poorly trained and supervised technicians, inadequate record-keeping, unsanitary conditions, and unhealthy test animals at the lab. More important, investigators discovered that the lab never performed some of the tests.

The FDA is also investigating the Industrial Bio-Test Laboratory, where inspectors have found that the number of tumors in some animals has been substantially under-reported. The lab's records also show animals dying repeatedly on different occasions from different causes.

Slowly, If At All

Even when there is test evidence that a drug or food additive could be harmful, the FDA acts slowly, if at all, in protecting the public. "We look at the tests, and if they turn out nega-

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"But if [tests] turn out positive, then we go and shop around for another opinion. Meanwhile the stuff is allowed on the market."

tive, fine," says one FDA scientist. "But if they turn out positive, then we go and shop around for another opinion. Meanwhile, the stuff is allowed on the market."

Over a million pounds of Red Dye No. 40, for example, is used every year in candy, cherries, soda, ice cream, frosting, and other foods. A study by its manufacturer, Allied Chemical, shows that the dye causes malignant lymphomas, a form of cancer—but the FDA's response so far has been to appoint a committee to spend two years studying the matter. Other potentially dangerous dyes have met with a similar response and are still on the market.

Congress has reacted to findings like this by giving the FDA $16 million this year to hire more inspectors to look into the drug industry's testing. In addition, the agency has issued new regulations that clinical laboratories must follow in their testing procedures. But while this is a step in the right direction, it won't solve the problem. Companies still pay for the research on their own products. It's financially impossible to have the federal inspectors check up on everyone. And more drugs and additives are coming on the market every day.

Senator Gaylord Nelson, Capitol Hill's most persistent critic of corporate drug testing, has a more practicable solution to the problem: have all testing done by third parties with no ties to the companies involved. Under his plan, the companies would still pay for the research, but the FDA would award the contracts, so the scientists wouldn't know where the money was coming from.

The FDA, however, wants to let the industry keep doing the testing. "We're opposed to third-party testing because there's no reason for it," one FDA spokesman says. "The present system seems to work." What about aspartame, and other incidents like it? "Our presumption is that the scientific and medical community is honest enough to resist any financial incentives. We don't want to add another bureaucratic layer that would probably just delay things."

A more accurate assessment came from the FDA's own task force on G.D. Searle: "At the heart of FDA's regulatory process is its ability to rely upon the integrity of the basic safety data submitted by sponsors of regulated products. Our investigation clearly demonstrates that, in the G.D. Searle Company, we have no basis for such reliance now."

As with Searle, so should it be with every company that makes drugs and food additives. One need not think these companies are evil or incompetent to see that letting them do their own testing on matters where huge profits hang in the balance is just providing a temptation to wrongdoing. Third-party testing would cause grumbling about government meddling, of course, but it would not be especially expensive or dilatory. Even to the extent that it is, it's well worth it; after all, people's lives are at stake. ■

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Who's Who in the Carter Administration

Copies of the May and June Who's Who *are available for $2 each.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of Management and Budget

Associate Director for Organization Studies—Peter Szanton was a self-employed writer and consultant in government affairs.

Deputy Associate Director for General Government—Tread Davis was an Alabama attorney.

Deputy Associate Director for Human Resources—Patricia Gwaltney was on the staff of the Senate Budget Committee.

Deputy Associate Director for Economic Development—Lester Salaman was director of Duke University's program in urban and regional developmental policy.

Project Manager of the Civil Rights Reorganization effort—Howard Glickstein was a professor at Howard University Law School and former director of the Notre Dame Center for Civil Rights.

AGRICULTURE

Administrator of Farmers' Home Administration—Gordon Cavanaugh was executive director of the Housing Assistance Council Inc., which provides aid to groups that generate rural low-income housing.

Assistant to the Secretary for Intergovernmental Affairs—Maynard C. Dolloff was a Labor Department agricultural consultant and is a former Maine commissioner of agriculture.

COMMERCE

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Development—Victor Hausner was research director of the Council on Urban Economic Development.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Development—George T. Karras was director of the Economic Development Administration's Office of Public Works.

Director of the Domestic and International Business Administration—Stanley Marcuss will head this new office with responsibility over export control regulations. He was formerly counsel to the Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs subcommittee on international finance.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Undersecretary of the Air Force—Hans M. Mark was director of the Ames Research Center of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Assistant Secretary of the Army for Manpower and Reserve Affairs—Robert L. Nelson was President of the Broadcasting Division of Washington Star Communications Inc., and served as deputy campaign manager and treasurer for Sen. Edmund Muskie's 1972 presidential campaign.

Director of the National Security Agency— Admiral **Bobby Inman** was Vice Director for Plans, Operations, and Support of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Director of the Air Force Systems Command—Air Force Lieutenant General **Lew Allen** was director of the NSA.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Plans and National Security Council Affairs—Lynn Davis taught Political Science at Columbia University and served on the staff of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

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HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Special Consultant to the Secretary—William Fullerton was deputy assistant secretary at HEW and was a House Ways and Means staff member under Wilbur Mills.

Deputy Commissioner of the Office of Education for Elementary and Secondary Education—Thomas K. Minter was superintendent of public schools in Wilmington, Delaware.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation (Education)—William A. Blakey was consultant and staff attorney for the Kentucky Commission of Human Rights. He was also special assistant to the Staff Director of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Development—Frank W. Newgent was Administrator of the Division of Family Services in Wisconsin.

Administrator of the Health Care Financing Administration—Robert A. Derzon was director of the hospitals and clinics at the University of California in San Francisco. Also, he was the first Deputy Commissioner of the New York City Health and Hospital Corporation.

Deputy General Counsel in the Office of Legal Counsel—Daniel Marcus was with the law firm of Wilmer, Cutler, and Pickering.

Deputy Executive Secretary to Department—James Pickman was Vice President of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in Brooklyn, New York.

Deputy Executive Secretary to Department—Richard Cotton was a staff attorney for the Natural Resources Defense Council in California.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Education—Peter Relic was superintendent of schools in Hamilton, Ohio.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Development—Richard C. P. Fleming was deputy director of the Carter transition's Talent Inventory Program and vice president and associate director of Central Atlanta Progress, Inc., a non-profit downtown development corporation.

General Deputy Assistant Secretary for Housing/Deputy Federal Housing Commissioner—Morton A. Baruch has been a program advisor to HUD since 1975.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Research and Demonstration—Raymond J. Struyk was a staff member of the Urban Institute studying economics of housing for the past five years.

INTERIOR

Director of the National Park Service—William J. Whalen was General Manager of the Bay Area National Parks in San Francisco.

Deputy Director of the National Park Service—Ira Hutchinson was Superintendent of the Gateway National Recreation Area in New York and New Jersey.

JUSTICE

Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Division—John Shenefield was a member of Hutton and Williams, a Washington law firm.

Assistant Attorney General in the Office of Legal Counsel—John Harmon was deputy assistant attorney general in Justice's Crime Division and served as law clerk to Attorney General Griffin B. Bell and Supreme Court Justices Warren Burger and Hugo Black.

Assistant Attorney General for Administration and Head of the Office of Management and Finance—Kevin D. Rooney was executive assistant to the associate attorney general.

Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the Criminal Division—Russell T. Baker Jr. was an aide to the assistant attorney general in the Criminal Division.

LABOR

Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division—Xavier M. Vela was Housing Director of the National Council of La Raza.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Veterans' Employment—Roland R. Mora was an advance man in the Carter campaign, a farmer and UFW organizer, and a Vietnam veteran.

Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service

Special Assistant to Director—John Grimes was a reporter and labor writer for several major dailies and chief of labor liaison for the Department of Transportation.

Deputy Director—Kenneth E. Moffett was Director of the Office of Mediation Services.

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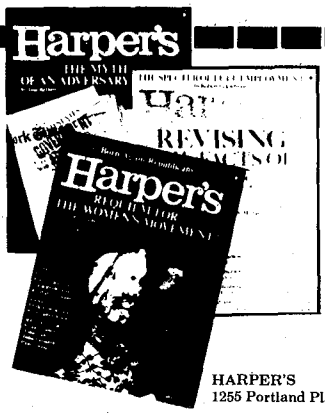

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- *the emerging conflict between our Western states (it's a war over water)*
- *what has been discovered recently about child development (there's a stronger focus than ever on emotional needs)*
- *the first published excerpt from Philip Roth's new novel, "The Professor of Desire" (it starts where Portnoy left off)*

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STATE

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa—Richard M. Moose was Deputy Undersecretary for Management and a former investigator for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He was also staff officer for Africa in the personal secretariat of Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

U.S. Representative to the UN Economic and Social Council—Melissa Wells was ambassador to Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

U.S. Representative to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—Herbert Salzman was director of the U.S. Private Investment Corporation. Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn.) called Salzman "One of my best and most intimate friends" at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee confirmation hearings.

U.S. Representative to the Conference of the Commission on Disarmament—Adrian S. Fisher was a law professor at Georgetown University Law Center.

U.S. Representative to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—Albert W. Sherer was U.S. alternate representative to the UN General Assembly in 1976.

U.S. Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency—Gerard C. Smith, a Washington lawyer, headed the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the early years of the Nixon Administration and previously served on the Atomic Energy Commission.

Assistant Chief of the Protocol Office (New York)—Marife Hernandez was director of community relations for WPIX-TV in New York City and active in New York public service organizations.

Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.—Malcolm Toon was reappointed.

Ambassador to Ireland—William V. Shannon was a member of the editorial board of *The New York Times.*

Ambassador to Argentina—Raul Castro was governor of Arizona and ambassador to Bolivia and El Salvador.

Ambassador to Norway—Lou Lerner was publisher of Lerner newspapers, a suburban Chicago chain of 46 weeklies.

Ambassador to Switzerland—Marvin Warner was chairman of the board and chief executive of the Warner National Corp., a Cincinnati real estate development firm. Warner, a former UN delegation member, was a major contributor to the campaigns of several Democrats on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Ambassador to Jamaica—Frederick Irving was Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs and ambassador to Iceland.

Ambassador to Egypt—Alfred L. Atherton was assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

Ambassador to Costa Rica—Marvin Weissman was director of the State Department's Office of Central American Affairs.

Ambassador to Sudan—Donald C. Bergus was deputy chief of the U.S. mission in Ankara, Turkey.

Ambassador to Algeria—Ulric S. Haynes, Jr. was vice president for the Mideast and Africa of the Cummins Engine Company.

Ambassador to Greece—William E. Schaufele was Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

Ambassador to East Germany—David B. Bolen is a veteran Foreign Service Officer.

TRANSPORTATION

Chief Counsel—Joseph J. Levin, Jr. was a Carter transition staff member and became special assistant to the Attorney General in January.

TREASURY

Chief Counsel of the Internal Revenue Service—Stewart Seigel is a former George Washington School of Law professor.

Treasurer of the U.S. and Director of the U.S. Mint—Azie Morton was special assistant to Robert Strauss during his tenure as chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Comptroller of the Currency—John G. Heimann was commissioner of New York State housing and community renewal and an unsuccessful candidate for the State Assembly in 1964. Heimann was an early Carter supporter.

Director of the Office of Revenue Sharing—Bernadine N. Denning was Manager of the Title IV Civil Rights Office of the Detroit Public School System.

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Agency for International Development

Deputy Administrator—Robert H. Nooter was Assistant Administrator of AID's Near East Bureau.

Assistant Administrator for Legislative Affairs—Jean Lewis was deputy assistant administrator in AID's Office of Legislative Affairs.

Assistant Administrator for Asia—John Sullivan was a senior staff consultant on the House International Relations Committee.

Assistant Administrator of Bureau for Population and Humanitarian Assistance—Sander M. Levin was a Bloomfield, Michigan attorney and twice an unsuccessful candidate for governor of Michigan.

Civil Aeronautics Board

Vice Chairman—Don Tucker was Speaker of the Florida House of Representatives and an early Carter supporter.

Central Intelligence Agency

Chairman of the Intelligence Oversight Board—Thomas L. Farmer was a CIA officer and a member of the Washington law firm of Prather, Seeger, Doolittle, Farmer & Ewing. Carter also named **William Scranton**, former governor of Pennsylvannia, and former senator **Albert Gore** to the board.

Civil Service Commission

Minority Commissioner—Ezra H. Poston was a member and former President of the New York State Civil Service Commission.

Consumer Product Safety Commission

Vice-Chairman—Thaddeus A. Garrett, Jr. was an aide to former Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller and Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-NY). He was nominated to the Commission by President Ford after Ford's November defeat.

Environmental Protection Agency

Director of the Office of Regional and Intergovernmental Operations—Edward Roush was an Indiana Congressman.

Director of Legislation—Charles Warren was chief legislative assistant to Senator Jacob Javits.

Federal Energy Agency

Director of the Office of Regulatory Programs—Richard H. Nordhaus will administer FEA's fuel allocation and pricing program. Nordhaus served as counsel to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Commission.

Federal Trade Commission

General Counsel—Michael N. Sohn was with the Washington law firm Arnold and Porter.

Special Assistant to the Chairman—Christain S. White was assistant director for special statutes in the FTC Bureau of Consumer Protection.

Director, Bureau of Competition—Alfred Doughtery, Jr. was a member of the Washington law firm of Hogan and Hartson and deputy director of the FTC's competition bureau.

Director, Office of Public Information—Theodore Cron was special assistant for program communications at HEW's Health Resources Administration.

Director, Bureau of Consumer Protection—Albert Kramer was with Arnold and Porter.

Deputy Director, Bureau of Consumer Protection—Tracey Weston was a professor at UCLA.

Director of Office of Policy Planning and Evaluation—Robert B. Reich was assistant director for evaluation in the agency and head of an FTC task force to monitor the Carter energy program's impact on consumers.

United States Information Agency

Special Assistant to the Director—Richard Cohen was staff director of the Public Agenda Foundation in New York City.

Renegotiation Board

Chairman—Goodwin Chase was a Renegotiation Board member.

Small Business Administration

Chairman of the National Advisory Council—B. Ernest Griffin is chairman of the board of Sav-A-Stop, Inc., a Florida wholesale distributor.

Assistant Administrator for Congressional and Legislative Affairs—Bill Keel was administrative assistant to former Rep. Joe Evins of Tennessee.

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How Carter Won the First Battle

by Jules Witcover

One day in late February 1975 Jimmy Carter and his sidekick, Jody Powell, motored over from Nebraska into Iowa for a testimonial dinner for Marie Jahn in Le Mars, just north of Sioux City. Mrs. Jahn was retiring after 38 years as Plymouth County recorder and Carter, just retired himself as governor of Georgia, was the guest speaker. It was small potatoes, but the only speaking engagement Carter could wrangle. "I think," Powell said later, "they may have asked a couple of other people first." Harold Brady, host of the affair, was more specific. He told Jim Flansburg, a political writer for the *Des Moines Register* and *Tribune*: "We wanted someone of national prominence—and relatively inexpensive." For his labors, Carter was declared Le Mars' Citizen of the Day by local radio station owner Paul Olson and was given his payola: a free car wash, a movie pass, and a coupon for a free pizza.

Jules Witcover is a columnist for The Washington Star. *This article is adapted from his new book,* Marathon *(The Viking Press).* *Copyright © Jules Witcover, 1977.*

Flansburg was impressed with Carter, and said so in print. Noting Carter's flat-out promise that he would "never tell a lie," Flansburg wrote: "If there weren't believers, there were certainly those who were persuaded on the basis of one speech to seriously consider the candidacy of Carter. Indeed, seldom has a candidate without a fabled name made such a fast and favorable impression on Iowans." Powell showed the story to Carter and the two talked about Iowa's potential, and the good reception he had just received. "We were looking for a place to go in the caucus states," Powell said. "We were seeing if we could find a place to surprise before New Hampshire, and the people of Iowa seemed to be our kind of folks. Once we became convinced we had a good shot, Iowa became the place."

Powell quickly seized upon the importance of local coverage in the Carter kind of campaign. "At that point, the *Des Moines Register* became more important than *The Washington Post*," he said later. "The only coverage you get at that stage is local. We might not have known much

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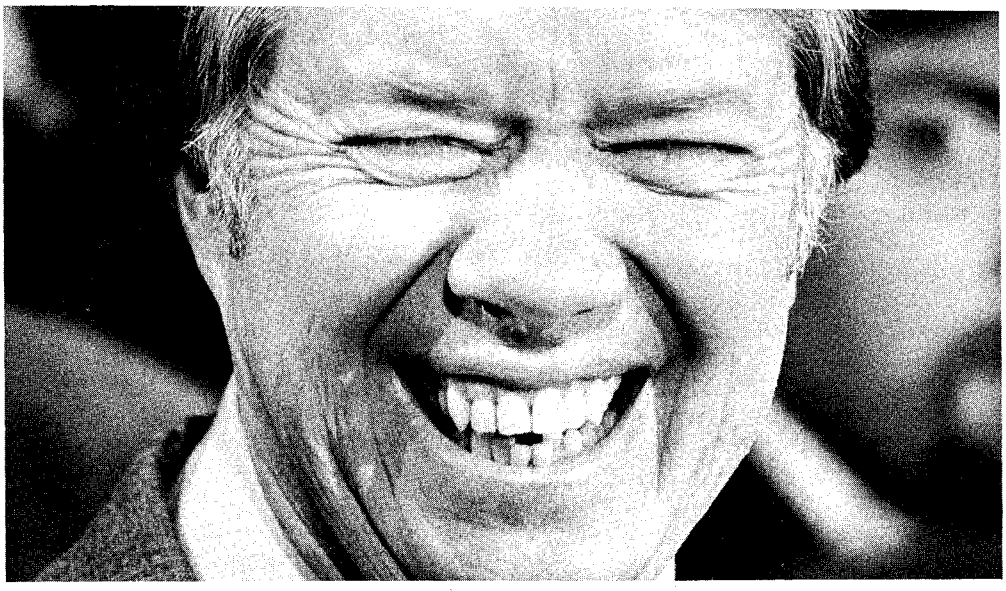

Diana H. Walker

about anything else, but we did know local media." So while other candidates may have been fretting about a lack of national coverage, Powell realized that the large Democratic field in 1975-76 would dilute national coverage for everyone. "Where we were perceptive," he said, "was we knew not only that we couldn't get you [the national press] but the others couldn't get you either." This was one reason it was decided that headquarters could remain in Atlanta rather than being moved up to an expensive Washington office. "With Kennedy out, a lot of things would start tumbling," Powell said. "The field would be bunched up and nobody would break out of this pack in 1975. We didn't need a big Washington office; nobody could afford to cover it so nobody would get a jump."

The Iowans' response to Carter's first foray was a bit of a surprise to the candidate and his press aide. Several weeks before, Hamilton Jordan had phoned Democratic State Chairman Tom Whitney, and Whitney told him, according to Jordan: "You really ought to forget about Iowa. It's not your kind of state." But it was not Jimmy Carter's nature to forget any state. "We realized from the outset," said Jordan much later, "that what we were going to do was very unconventional—a man running for office who had no forum, who was not an incumbent, who was not from the traditional breeding ground of American politics, who was a Southerner. We were going to have to prove ourselves early, and the early primaries and even the caucuses were going to have a disproportionate amount of influence in the media."

This approach made sense for another reason: it fit right in with the way Carter did things. "Jimmy's nature is to run a total effort everywhere," Jordan went on. "When he ran for governor in '66 and lost, and then decided to run in '70, a lot of people, myself included, tried to [dissuade him and] talk him into running for lieutenant governor or commissioner of agriculture. I went over to see him in '67 or '68 and I said, 'Jimmy, you should be the governor, but you know, this guy Carl Sanders just can't be defeated.' And he told me in his living room, 'If I don't get but two votes, mine and yours, I'm going to run for governor.'

"He made that same kind of total commitment to the presidential campaign. And that kind of commitment does not allow you to say, 'Well, we may not run in these ten or 15 states.

"I felt like there was going to be an

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overreaction to the new rules of the Democratic Party, that people were going to pick and choose, to shape strategies that presumed a brokered convention. We shaped a strategy that presumed there was *not* going to be a brokered convention. We felt like other candidates, particularly the ones who had duties and responsibilities in Washington, were going to have to say, 'Well, there are 50 states; we're going to focus on these 20.' Because Jimmy was a tremendous, full-time campaigner, we could spend a little time on the states they had written off and do well there, plus also contest them for their priority states. I never remember a meeting where it was even discussed which states we were going to run in and which states we were going to skip. Circumstances dictated that we were going to run everywhere."

A great irony about the Carter strategy is that it was essentially the same one that Muskie used in 1972, and that helped to bring him down. But there were at least two notable differences: Carter had much greater determination and a stronger affinity for campaigning, and he did so in an atmosphere of low expectations. He was neither discouraged by small crowds and long hours nor was early public indifference particularly bad for him. Muskie had acted as if he were already the party's nominee and a great deal was expected of him; Jimmy Carter ran as the longest of long shots, and whatever favorable reaction he generated was gravy.

Over the next eleven months Carter returned to Iowa seven times. Tim Kraft, a New Mexico party organizer and state committee official whom Carter had met and recruited during the 1974 congressional campaign, was made the campaign's Plains states coordinator, and he advanced several of the trips. Each time, he became more convinced that Iowa was a golden opportunity. Jordan and he began scouting around for somebody who could take on the state full time, and when no one else could be found, Kraft agreed to do it himself. "We felt the sequence of the primaries and the new federal election law could make winners out of some candidates and losers out of others," Jordan said, "and candidate attrition would take place very early."

But little time was wasted on speculation. "There are things in a political campaign you can control and things you can't. You can't control issues and events and who your opponents are, or what they do or what they say about you. The things you *can* control are your own organization, your own fund-raising. Because of Jimmy's commitment to the thing we never spent a lot of psychic energy worrying about who we were ultimately going to face."

Minor Liberal Skirmishes

So, while other candidates and prospective candidates concentrated most of their pre-election year energies on minor liberal skirmishes in the East or on New Hampshire, Carter zeroed in early on Iowa.

In August 1975, five months before the Iowa voting, Tim Kraft decided he should move into the state full time. He discussed Iowa's importance again with Jordan, who agreed but asked him to write a strong memo that Jordan could use to win support from others in Atlanta for the necessary resources. "Build yourself a case," Jordan told him. In the memo, dated August 28, 1975, Kraft wrote: "It is past time that we begin to devote to Iowa the money and manpower that that crucial state requires. You are aware of the media/political significance of Iowa's January 19 precinct caucuses. . . . JC has indicated very strongly that he does not want to finish second to any candidate. We'd better get going. . . . We'll solicit money but it [the Iowa campaign] can't pay for itself. Money can't buy the kind of press we'll get if JC finishes first in the precinct caucuses. . . . [It has been argued] that there are only X amount of materials

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for 50 states and, accordingly, they must be rationed. Set up a priority, then, and ration Montana, Vermont, or somewhere else. But don't tell me that Iowa, Oklahoma [also an early caucus state], New Hampshire, and Florida should be treated like any of the 46 states."

Kraft's memo did the trick, and by Labor Day of 1975 he was living in Iowa, implementing the campaign plan.

A short, mustachioed fellow with the look of a cocky desperado about him, Kraft had helped engineer the election of New Mexico's Govenor Jerry Apodaca, and he knew the business of grassroots organizing. He too had been won over by Carter's political evangelism. Carter dealt with Kraft, as he did with most others, on an intensively personal level; that was a big part of his effectiveness. He would listen long, no matter who was talking to him, important politician or crackpot on the street. It was an almost missionary quality: no soul was not worth saving, nor beyond redemption, if only Carter persisted. And so persist he did, almost with a vengeance and, beyond that, with an unshakable conviction of right. "As the Father knoweth me, even so I know I the Father: and I lay down my life for the sheep. And other sheep I have, which are not part of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd." (John 10: 15-16).

Carter's opponents in Iowa soon found that the Good Shepherd was going to be no pushover. Kraft worked the state like a local precinct visiting 110 cities and towns between Carter's own visits, which were marked by not only speaking engagements but also casual drop-bys in the middle of nowhere. He would call on a farmer in the morning, talk for a while, stay for lunch, then come by again a few weeks later. If the farmer wasn't home, he would leave a handwritten note pinned to the front door that said: "Just dropped by to say hello. Jimmy." Many such visits were followed by telephone calls or notes of thanks. And as Carter and his wife and children pursued this retail campaigning, Kraft shrewdly studied the state caucus machinery.

At the summer's end, an opportunity presented itself that was the first tangible Carter triumph, and first solid evidence of his diligent thoroughness. Iowa is gifted with one of the most progressive and professional Democratic Party organizations in the country. The state's Democrats have always prided themselves on being in the forefront of reform, and in Tom Whitney they had a young and ambitious chairman who saw the potential for national attention in the 1976 political calendar. Well in advance of the first precinct caucuses scheduled for January 19, 1976, Whitney and his committee laid plans for delegate selection in accordance with the new and complex national party rules. So complex were they, in fact, that dry-run caucuses were scheduled around the state to familiarize Democrats with the system and to encourage participation. It was decided that it would be good publicity to conduct a straw poll on presidential preferences in conjunction with these practice caucuses. Kraft, seizing on this development, quietly mobilized his growing forces to generate a show of strength for Carter that would be noticed by the national press—and, he hoped, by the nation's public as well, far in advance of the New Hampshire primary.

"I worked in a white heat just to get a steering committee named by that time," Kraft recalled later. "I sent out a mailing to 600 or 700 county leaders in the party and came up with a list of 19 fairly impressive people on a state steering committee." He put out a press release, but the *Des Moines Register* buried the story. It was important, however, that Democrats around the state hear about the names Carter had corralled before they attended the dry-run caucuses. They included James Schaben, the

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unsuccessful 1974 gubernatorial nominee; Edris (Soapy) Owens, retired state president of the United Auto Workers; and James Maloney, auditor of Polk County (Des Moines). So Kraft alerted all the steering committee members to attend their own precinct meetings, spread the word, and vote for Carter in the straw poll. There wasn't much to pull together, but at this earliest stage it was enough. Carter polled 9.9 per cent of 5,762 persons voting—more than any other active candidate achieved. Shriver was second with 8.7 per cent and Bayh third with 8.1 per cent. About 34 per cent said they were uncommitted.

It was by all odds an insignificant gauge of over-all Democratic strength in Iowa, but it was the only show in town—the only hard bit of political information about the 1976 Democratic race available for the press and television to latch on to, and it made news in Iowa, especially because the "winner" was an obscure one-term former governor from a Deep South state who had no business making any splash at all there. As the other candidates moved into Iowa—Harris, Udall, and Jackson, then Bayh and Shriver—they seldom found a place where the velvet pitch of Jimmy Carter had not been heard or conveyed by proxy by his growing legion of workers. Iowa had the makings of a trap, but it was not one easily resisted, because along with the Carter invasion came, eventually, the media invasion as well, offering a prize no 1976 hopeful could resist.

The media's seizing upon Iowa, although the state chose only 47 of 3,008 delegates to the Democratic National Convention, was both understandable and defensible. In 1972 the rise of George McGovern's grass roots efforts at the precinct level were overlooked for a considerable time by the major newspapers and the television networks; their focus was squarely on Muskie as he collected big-name endorsements en route to what nearly everyone thought would be a routine first-ballot nomination. Not even McGovern's show of strength in Iowa shook that perception, and only in retrospect did the press realize that something significant had been building for McGovern out in the country. Through the early going, he was mired among the also-rans in the Gallup and other public-opinion polls, not moving up until his primary campaign successes. For their romance with Muskie, the press and television paid heavy alimony after 1972 in terms of their reputation for clairvoyance, let alone clear thinking and assessment of evidence at hand. Some reporters, to their credit, had recognized and chronicled early the Muskie slide and McGovern climb, but this time around, in 1976, if there were going to be early signals, the fourth estate was going to be on the scene en masse to catch them.

While the Iowa straw poll had sneaked up on most of the press, it did serve to alert most political reporters to the state's importance as an early line on the 1976 contenders. The next important event did not go unnoticed.

All the Trappings

In late October the state Democratic Party held a large Jefferson-Jackson Day fund-raising affair at Iowa State University in Ames, just north of Des Moines, to which all the prospective presidential candidates were invited. The affair had all the trappings of a political convention, with booths set up at the back of the arena for each of the hopefuls and time set aside before and after each speech for the candidates themselves to man the booths, shake hands, and answer questions. Kraft drew an early bead on this affair too. The *Des Moines Register* and *Tribune* had decided to poll all those who attended the dinner, and Kraft did his best to pack the hall.

He sent out three memos to all Carter workers, friends, and supporters advising them of the showcase opportunity the dinner presented and

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of the plans for a poll. Pick-up points for the trip to Ames were arranged and information about bus and car transportation dispensed. Though the dinner was expensive—$50 a couple—Tom Whitney confided to Kraft that Democrats would be admitted to balcony seats for $2 apiece. Kraft, in a memo, passed the word that the two bucks "gets you everything but the chicken dinner." And he suggested that "one probably could drift down from the balcony onto the floor and vote" in the poll.

(This guerrilla tactic was foiled initially when the *Register* distributed the ballots at the door to full-paying guests, but some of the Carter two-dollar types infiltrated anyway, slipping down to the floor and appropriating ballots along with suppers of fried chicken. Nothing was left to chance. In the same memo to Carter supporters, Kraft wrote, "Have the bumper sticker on whatever you drive to Ames; slap it on the chartered bus if need be. There's usually a reporter who polls the parking lot and throws in a sentence about it. Bring whatever extras you have; we may need them for the [straw] hats.")

At the dinner, Rosalynn Carter went into the balcony handing out oversized Carter buttons to people in the first rows, an easy focus for the television cameras. She and Neil Hamilton, an Iowa State student on the steering committee, "must have put on 300 of these buttons, all in the front row," Kraft recalled. "We knew the thing was going to be covered. Politics is theater. We planned for that."

The other candidates' staffs either failed to grasp the psychological impact promised by the poll or could not get supporters out in sufficient numbers. The Harris campaign, for instance, observing that its backers were among the common folk and could not afford the price of admission, made only a modest effort. Bayh's forces depended on labor to come through for them and were disappointed. The result was predictable—a clear-cut victory for Carter, with 23 per cent of 1,094 respondents.

The major newspapers immediately perceived this first solid sign of Carter's strength in Iowa. In *The New York Times,* for example, political writer R.W. Apple, Jr., wrote that Carter "appears to have taken a surprising but solid lead" in Iowa's delegate race. "Whether he can maintain his early lead here when the contest switches from opinion leaders to rank-and-file voters is unclear," he went on, but "what is evident is that Mr. Carter, working from Atlanta rather than Washington, has made dramatic progress while attention was focused on the scramble for liberal primacy" among Udall, Bayh, Harris, and Shriver. Nearly three months before the first caucuses of 1976, Carter had grabbed the media spotlight.

When the press and the networks began to descend on Des Moines right after New Year's Day, one lament was heard repeatedly; Iowa, it went, was no more than a "media event"—the overblowing of an insignificant early phase of the delegate-selection process for the purpose of satisfying the need for hard news after all the months of vapid preliminaries. Iowans themselves weren't excited about the whole business—barely eleven per cent of the state's Democrats eventually participated in the caucus—but the national media elevated the caucuses to a bogus extravaganza. So said the complainers.

One unhappy Udall worker later stated in *The Washington Post* that the candidates themselves and the issues were lost in the efforts to draw press attention, and in the reporters' determination to draw significance from an insignificant exercise. "The reality of a presidential campaign," he wrote in a woeful misunderstanding of the dynamics of the system, "is the delegate count, but no significant number of delegates will be selected until March" (in the Massachusetts primary, presumably). The fact is that

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the reality in the early going of a presidential campaign is not the delegate-count at all. It is the psychological impact of the results—the perception by press, public, and contending politicians of what has happened. Because the candidates themselves act on that perception—adjusting their campaigns to meet criticisms about perceived shortcomings—the perception becomes reality. Hamilton Jordan and his associates grasped this truth early and acted on it repeatedly.

Like Some Foreign Mission

From the beginning, in Iowa, Carter's campaign was oriented to the individual voter; the premise was that if he could ignite a spark with the people, the press would have to come around. Supporters once made remained supporters, because they were not simply supporters, but friends. And not only Carter engaged in this Good Shepherd exercise; his wife Rosalynn, his sons, and his sister, Ruth Stapleton, a sexy blond mother who was also a professional evangelist, all worked Iowa like some foreign mission whose natives had not found salvation, but only needed to hear the word.

In Iowa and subsequent 1976 political battlegrounds, Jimmy Carter witnessed to voters not only about his Christian faith but about his faith in the nation and the American people. And when he left, he had his own church of political believers, thoroughly committed to him, willing to work with a zest and dedication approaching his own. And like a missionary so convinced of the Word that he was confident his new church would stand against all manner of secular pressures, Jimmy Carter openly disdained the demands of the infidel press that he speak in specifics, that he say exactly what his general proposals would do, would cost. He asked of voters the same "leap of faith" that is at the core of religious belief, and to a remarkable degree they gave it to him.

Carter's approach also took at face value the belief, fallen into disfavor during the Nixon years, that a campaign for the presidency is and should be an educational process, not only for the voter but for the candidate himself.

Jimmy Carter did in fact talk to the people, often at great length. It was forever a source of frustration for his staff that this man who insisted always on being on time—in order not to give offense or, putting it positively, to show he cared—would stop in a crowd and start a dialogue with anyone who asked him a question. He would respond fully, and then ask, "Have I answered your question?" Perhaps more than any other campaigner in recent time, Carter could truly say that he was out among the people, conversing with them, and learning from them.

And this self-education was perhaps an element in his steadfast conviction that categorical answers were not always the best, that people did not always come down squarely on one side or another of an issue, but often had mixed views. He campaigned with almost a haughty confidence that what the press saw as dissemblance on issues would be understood as reasonableness and common sense by voters, who themselves seldom saw things in clear black and white. In Iowa, he talked about what 260 days on the road in 1975 had done for him: "I feel better than I did a year ago. I'm relaxed and confident. I'm a lot more sure of myself. I know a lot more about this country than I would have if I hadn't been to Sioux City three times, or to Florida for 25 days."

On the night of January 19 the Carter mission paid off. In 2,530 individual precinct caucuses in Iowa, in schoolrooms, church basements, libraries, and private living rooms, Democrats gathered to start the process that led to the national convention in New York's Madison Square Garden in July.

I attended Des Moines precinct No.

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59, in the basement recreation room of the Simpson United Methodist Church. There, 35 Democrats out of 937 registered in the precinct, one of the city's largest, showed up to select seven delegates to the county convention. The precinct chairman, a 30-year-old Des Moines lawyer named Pat Payton, explained the rules: the participants would form smaller caucuses of their own in various corners of the room according to candidate preference—the Carter people at one table, the Jackson people at another, the uncommitted people over in a corner, and so on. To elect a county delegate, a candidate would have to claim at least 15 per cent of the precinct caucus vote, or in this case, roughly five votes. If the backers of a given candidate failed to achieve that 15 per cent, they would be allowed to recaucus and join another candidate's group. While a crowd of costumed dancers pranced obliviously on the floor above—a crowd larger than those gathered in the basement for the important business of electing a President—Payton gave the word to start. Twelve of the 35 made a Carter group; eight sat with the undecideds, and eight for Jackson; four joined a Harris caucus and three a Bayh; Udall, Shriver, and Wallace were shut out.

Payton, counting heads, told the Harris and Bayh caucuses that they each had failed to achieve 15 per cent of the total but could join another group. Of these seven, one Harris person moved over to the Carter table, one joined the uncommitteds, and two threw in with the three Bayh people, just enough to qualify him at 15 per cent. So Carter, with 13 votes, was entitled to three of the precinct's seven delegates; the uncommitted caucus of nine, to two delegates; Jackson with eight and Bayh with five to one each.

Most of the Carter people said they had met the candidate personally or one of his family, and they liked his style. The Harris person who switched to Carter, Rick Hoenig, a 27-year-old employee of a local oil company, told me, "I really couldn't make up my mind which one I wanted. I prefer Harris on most things. I didn't want to stay undecided. And I like Carter's sincerity, and maybe I sense there's support for the man here." Was he saying he liked to be with a winner? "Yes, in a sense," he said, in a response that would be heard from many a Carter voter in the year ahead. "I guess that's what I'm here for."

All over Iowa that night, that experience was being repeated. At the Des Moines Hilton, just across from the airport, the Democratic Committee and the national press corps gathered to compile and report about 1976's first hard vote for the presidency. So novel was the presence of such television luminaries as Roger Mudd of CBS that State Chairman Tom Whitney peddled admission just to watch. And from the very first posting it was clear that it would be Jimmy Carter's night, the first of many. Shortly after midnight, with nearly 40 per cent of the precincts reporting, Carter had 34 per cent of the total. He ultimately slipped to just under 28 per cent, trailing the uncommitted slate, which had about 37 per cent, but he still maintained a margin of more than two to one over his next rival, Bayh. The final votes were Carter 27.7 per cent, Bayh 13.1 per cent, Harris 9.9 per cent, Udall 5.9 per cent, Shriver 3.3 per cent, and the rest undecided or split among other candidates.

Carter was in bed in New York, at the apartment of Howard Samuels, a former Democratic gubernatorial hopeful, when Powell phoned him at about 2 a.m. with the news. Greg Schneiders, Carter's efficient and outspoken personal aide, a 29-year-old former Washington restaurant and bar operator, took the call and summoned the candidate, who talked to Tim Kraft. Carter had been discussing with him where he would go, and now Carter told Kraft: "I guess we won't have to send you to Alaska now." Then he unceremoniously went back to bed. ■

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political book notes

Public affairs books to be published in July/August

Alaska Crude: Visions of the Last Frontier. Kenneth Andrasko, photographs by Marcus Halevi. Little, Brown, $7.95.

Americans Remember the Home Front. Roy Hoopes. Hawthorn Books, $12.95.

Architecture and Energy. Richard G. Stein. Anchor Press/Doubleday, $12.95.

The Broken Heart. James J. Lynch. Basic, $10.95. At a time when an increasing number of Americans are living alone, this book warns of the medical consequences of solitary existence. The author, who specializes in psychosomatic medicine, cites impressive evidence that single people are more susceptible to mental and physical disease, particularly heart ailments. He contrasts Nevada, with its large singles population and high death rate, with Utah, with its religious and social emphasis on community and far lower death rate. He says that millions of the loneliness-prone—the widowed and divorced, the old and the single young living alone—die quite literally of a broken heart each year. The writing is a bit *Reader's Digest*-y but this book has an important and disturbing message.

The Case for the Welfare State. Norman Furniss, Timothy Tilton. Indiana Univ. Press, $14. Fresh in thought but academic in presentation, this book will reward the reader who perseveres.

China and America: The Search for a New Relationship. William J. Barnds, ed. New York Univ. Press, $15.

The Condensed World of the Reader's Digest. Samuel A. Schreiner, Jr. Stein & Day, $10. This is one of the great natural ideas for a good book, and so, after the publication of this one, it remains. *The Reader's Digest*, a magazine founded on the principle of culling articles from other magazines, has the largest circulation of any periodical in the history of the world; and with annual sales Schreiner estimates at $700 million, it's one of the largest privately held corporations in America. Like most successful American magazines, it's the product of a single strong personality, that of its founder DeWitt Wallace, who has a great instinct for the optimistic banality that *Digest* readers have come to love. Schreiner, a former *Digest* employee, has the facts, but he recounts them in a way so resolutely amiable, folksy, and shallow as to be more frustrating than enlightening.

David Dubinsky: A Life With Labor. David Dubinsky, A. H. Raskin. Simon and Schuster, $7.95. Biography is painless history, and this collaboration by the former president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and *The New York Times*' longtime labor reporter is no exception. In the process of telling the life history of David Dubinsky, the authors manage to teach the reader much about labor in the 20th century—the change in its ethnic and political character, the battles with the communists for union control, and, perhaps most important, the evolution of the union-business mutual aid philosophy. "I started by saying, 'Down with the bosses,' " Dubinsky says. "Now I'm a little smarter. If they go down, our people go down with them."

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"A muckraking spellbinder by two of the best young pros in the business." —*Jack Anderson*

In BUILDING 6, two prize-winning journalists expose, in harrowing detail, the deaths of employees working with cancer-producing materials in a chemical plant in Bridesburg, Pa.

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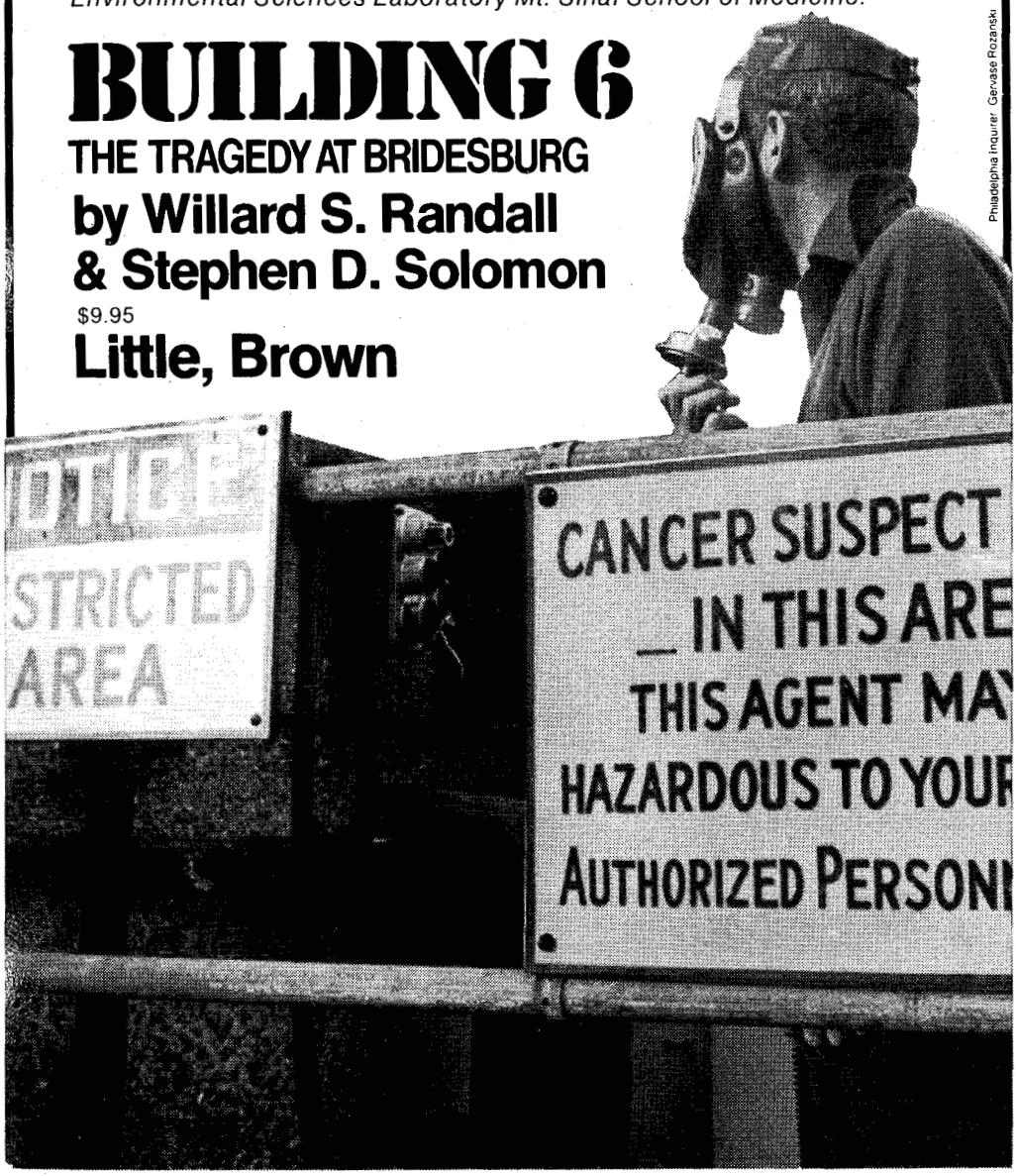

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Decision Over Schweinfurt. Thomas M. Coffey. McKay, $10.95. One of the great bad raps of recent history is the one Kurt Vonnegut laid on the American Air Force in Europe during World War II. It wasn't dedicated to the mass slaughter of civilians but, as this book shows, to precision bombing of German industry carried out in the daylight at a great cost in the lives of American pilots.

The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister, Volume II: Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons, 1966-1968. Richard Crossman. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $18.95.

Enola Gay. Gordon Thomas, Max Morgan Witts. Stein & Day, $11.95.

Final Approach: The Crash of Eastern 212. William Stockton. Doubleday, $7.95.

Freedom Inside the Organization: Bringing Civil Liberties Down to the Workplace. David W. Ewing. Dutton, $10.

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Government Secrecy in Democracies. Itzhak Galnoor, ed. New York Univ. Press, $12.50.

Having It Your Way: The Strategy of Settling Everyday Conflicts. Robert Bell. Norton, $8.95.

Is This Really What I Want To Do? Jerry Greenwald. Ward Ritchie Press, $8.95.

John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction. Carl M. Brauer. Columbia Univ. Press, $14.95. A revision of the revisionists, this book argues that John Kennedy was the key political figure in the racial revolution of the sixties. The case is convincing, except when the author tries to gloss over Kennedy's non-participation in one of the great civil rights events of the decade, the March on Washington in August 1963.

Johnny's Such a Bright Boy, What a Shame He's Retarded. Kate Long. Houghton Mifflin, $8.95.

Marathon: The Pursuit of the Presidency, 1972-1976. Jules Witcover. Viking, $14.95. An excerpt appears in this issue of *The Washington Monthly*.

The Media Are American. Jeremy Tunstall. Columbia Univ. Press, $14.95.

Missouri. Paul C. Nagel. Norton, $8.95.

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Nuclear Power and Social Planning. Gerald Garvey. Lexington, $15.

Our Great Spring Victory: An Account of the Liberation of South Vietnam. General Van Tien Dung; translated by John Spragens, Jr. Monthly Review Press, $15.

A Passion for Equality. Nick Kotz, Mary Lynn Kotz. Norton, $8.95. An absorbing biography of George Wiley, the leader of the welfare rights movement.

The Power of the Positive Woman. Phyllis Schlafly. Arlington House, $8.95.

PR As in President. Vic Gold. Doubleday, $8.95. Spiro Agnew's former speechwriter has written a public-relations history of the 1976 presidential election, with the unsurprising point that the PR element was of great importance in determining the outcome. This is a disorganized collection of obvious, occasionally witty observations, of no great value.

Public Transportation and Land Use Policy. Boris S. Pushkarev, Jeffery M. Zupan. Indiana Univ. Press, $18.50.

Questions and Answers About Arabs and Jews. Ira Hirschmann. Bantam, $1.95. The assumption behind this book is that like sex, the Mideast has gotten so complicated that newcomers to the field need a simple book in Q-and-A form to help them understand it. Anybody who knows much about the Mideast won't have any use for this book, but it's a helpful guide for the uninitiated, full of

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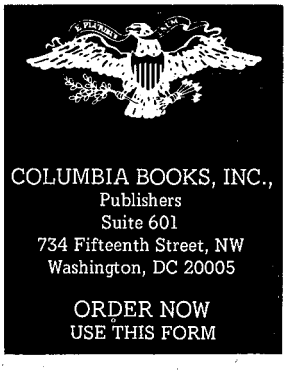

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Trilateral Commission Task Force Reports: 1-7. New York Univ. Press, $12.

Uncertain Greatness: Henry Kissinger and American Foreign Policy. Roger Morris. Harper & Row, $10. A former Henry Kissinger aide and a regular contributor to these pages, Morris has written a major study of Kissinger's career at the highest levels of government. It's overwritten in places and treads a fine line between the popular and the technical, but overall this is an intelligent and valuable book that profits greatly from its author's insider's perspective.

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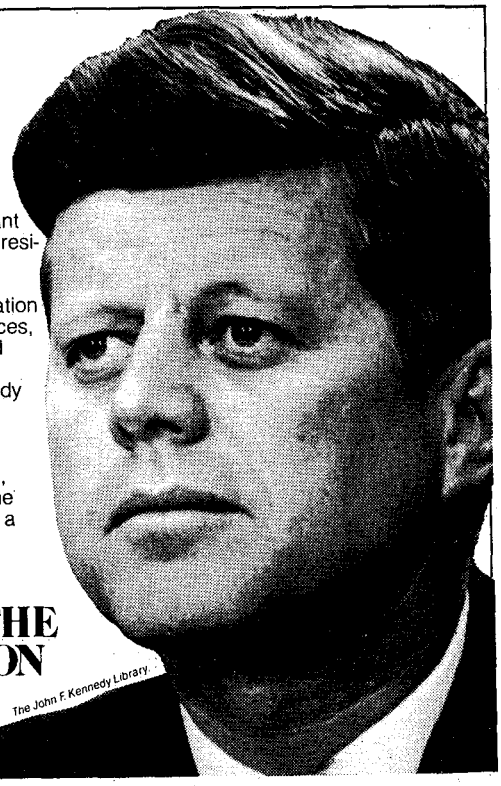
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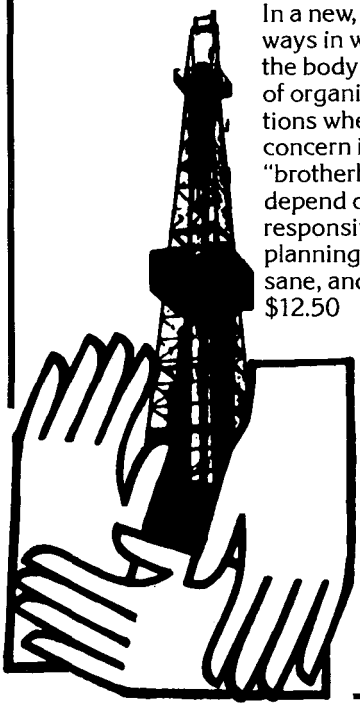

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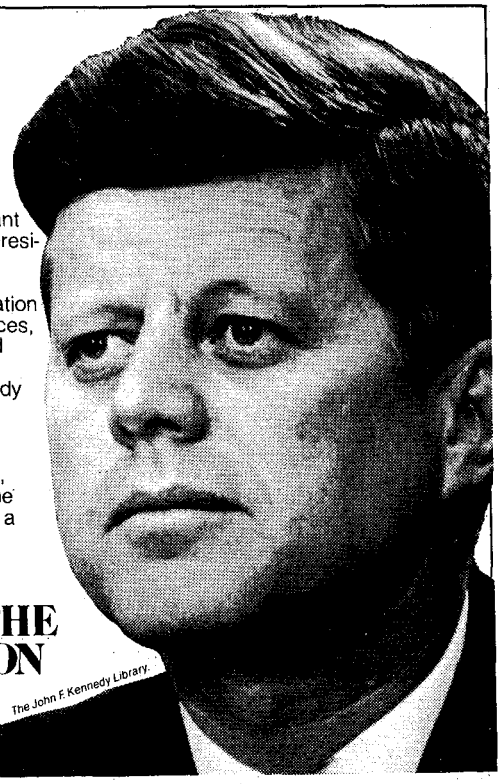
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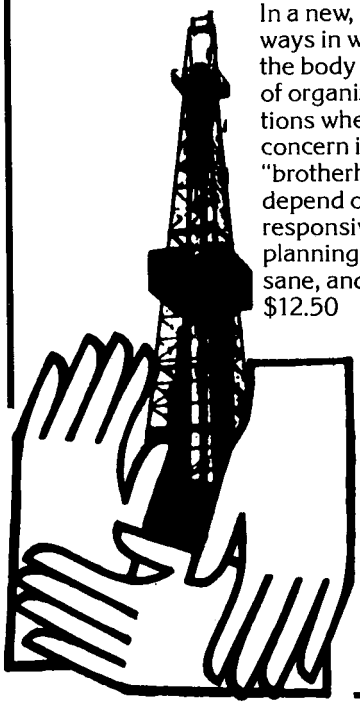

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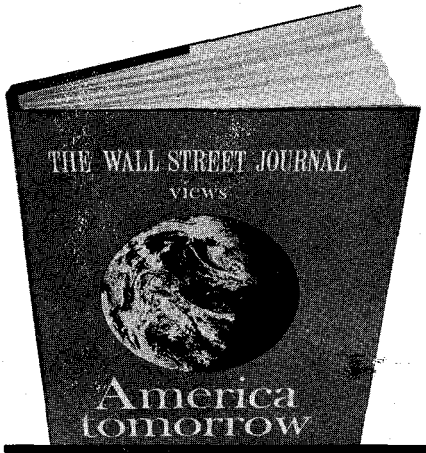

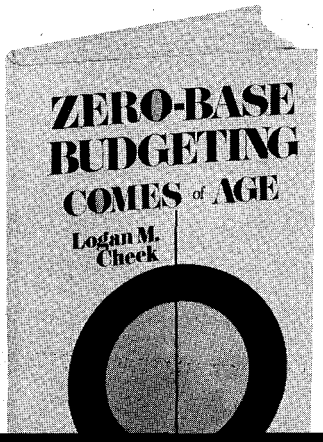

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